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Universities and the Bomb

At a symposium on arms control held at Livermore last month the president of the University of California, David Saxon, spoke on the responsibility of universities to combat the menace of war (an extract from his talk is printed on page 12). This is a difficult and uncomfortable subject. It inevitably provokes powerful but volatile emotions about national loyalty, ideological commitment, atavistic aggression, combined with purer ethical concerns about murder and life, all magnified and distorted by the almost incomprehensible scale of the destruction that would accompany war between the great powers. It is difficult for man to be rational altogether about processes and events that are all too likely to lead to the final destruction of mankind.

Perhaps for these reasons higher education, in its formal and institutional capacities, has tended to avoid the subject. There is, of course, the honourable exception here in Britain of Bradford University. There are also semi-exceptions, perhaps more expedient and certainly more temporary, when occasional seminars on the issues of peace and war have been organized. Now, as another half-century, there is the newly announced attempt, altruistic but also naive, to organize "peace education" in colleges and schools.

But for the most part higher education's response has been no different from that of the rest of the community. It too has remained inchoate and individualistic, expressed too often and often trivially at the sartorial-exhibitionist level (in plain language there has been a boom in badges). But there has been no assumption of any special responsibility. It seems to be believed, and certainly this belief is actively expressed through the general inaction, that while higher education has a limited role as a technician, of war and much more occasionally of peace, it has no special right or capacity to

France's new beginning

M. François Mitterand's election as President of France last month and last Sunday's sweeping victory by the Socialist Party in the first round of the elections for the National Assembly have been greeted with relief in universities and higher education as a whole. Under Presidentiscard relations with the state had deteriorated to a point where administrative high-handedness by the government had utterly undermined the liberal intentions of the Faure reform of 1968. M. Alain Savary, the new Minister of Education, has promised that the new Socialist government will abide by not only the letter but also the spirit of the law passed after the turmoil of the events of May 1968 and intended to set the universities free from stifling central control.

Even the fact that M. Mitterand has abolished the separate ministry of higher education will be widely supported. Its last occupant under Giscard, Mme. Sauvier Seité, had won an

Waiting for Chilver

No institution enjoys speculation over its future, but the New University of Ulster has more cause for complaint than most. Almost since its inception, it seems, doubts have been cast over the university's viability and this week fears that the Chilver Committee will downgrade NUU have resurfaced in the province.

The university already has well-documented problems with student recruitment, thanks largely to the wider political troubles in Northern Ireland. Its difficulties can only be exacerbated by the continuing delay in publication of the Chilver Report, which is feeding rumours over the fate

higher education as a scientific Moloch, a desecrated calculating machine spewing out kill rate calculations, theories of deterrence, and all the other intellectual apparatus of war. He builds his case, however insubstantial and rickety it may appear to such Kissingeresque realists, on more humane and more universal values, ones many times more worthy of the university and its traditions.

He is right to argue that the intellectual forces contained in the modern university must be mobilized for peace, not in a shrill, politicized and so peripheral way, but at a more substantial level and within the academic tradition. It is essential that the billions of dollars and millions of pounds spent on the R and D of war should be matched by similar amounts, and the intellectual effort they buy, dedicated to the R and D of peace. The technologies that bring peoples together should receive at least as high a priority as the technologies of death. For the present world would almost be better, because it is so much better than the present balance. Just for war and peace to be treated even-handedly in higher education's world-wide effort to expand knowledge is almost beyond hope, and further beyond achievement.

In the end, of course, even-handedness is not enough. The creation of knowledge cannot be separated from its use. Understanding cannot be divorced from morality. Andrei Sakharov, who has actually lived himself the terrible tensions between the creativity of the scientist, the obligation of the intellectual, and the morality of the citizen, has urged us not to be afraid of naive ideals on this most important public issue of our age and, if we are to prevent it being also the last such issue. For to contemplate the alternative to intellectual naivety in such circumstances may be to display a moral naivety even more blind. Utopianism may not be enough; but it may also be all that we have.

Yet piety is a considerable advance on impiety, which is the only appropriate moral description for the technologically driven "neutrality" so often displayed by higher education in the past and (outside the totalitarian world) most frequently perhaps in the United States. Dr Saxon's attitude is a world away from the appearance of

M. Savary will need all these advantages, and perhaps a few more, if he is to accomplish the true and permanent liberalization of the French universities.

Old, centralist, Napoleonic habits of administration are deeply embedded in French political society. Like acid these habits ate away the liberal intentions of Edgar Faure to allow universities genuine autonomy - a process aided by the over-vaque ultraism of the 1968 law, its limitations (like the exclusion of the *grandes écoles*), and occasionally the irresponsible abuse of autonomy by divided university councils. But the decent and liberal intentions of the new Socialist government are an essential foundation for the restoration of strained relations and the achievement of new and more ambitious reforms. They are also generous and optimistic contrast to the negativism, philistinism, and penny-pinching of our own Government.

the report should be brought out as soon as possible. The university deserves a clear vote of confidence to enable it to prove itself in a more stable atmosphere than it has experienced up to now.

Regardless of the merits of siting the institution in Coleraine, the province as a whole should not be deprived of such an asset when its people experience so many other disadvantages. It would be a tragedy if Chilver allowed NUU to become yet another victim, albeit indirectly, of the violence in Northern Ireland. By its procrastination, the committee is making this unwelcome outcome that more likely.

Laurie Taylor



The University Grants Committee
19th Feb

Dear Vice Chancellor (BNU):
Well thank goodness we had decent weather last weekend! I know what it was like up in the woods but most of order on the old committee managed a bit of gardening and even a case) a spot of sailing. And hope we get a really good (Warm days at Lord with me eh?)

Now, time to get down to business. As you know, we all got yesterday and had a pretty wong about what to do with the University system.

It was quite late in the day finally got into the department were going in alphabetical order (Dear, dear, mustn't forget!) the bright side. Professor Rie actually been up your way: years ago and enjoyed a meal in the S.C.R. These were remembered seeing a very from your chemistry department. Tomorrow's World (Can't see new woman they've got out of you? So damn serious). Now they're all like that in your faculties (the chemistry department the woman) then Boyle? So no need to use the old pun on the scientists.

Nobody could come up with on social science, although one member (who shall be named) did suggest that it would be a bit to chop a couple of your lecturers (Greene and Strain, think he said) who actually with their own petard, not at Sorry, but we just couldn't her if you had a sociology degree (your prospectus had you in the pile in the middle of the pile, so perhaps you could help). If so, perhaps you could help. A number of still is odd that we own discretion (plus or minus sort of thing). Incidentally, I got a Dr Rieckert in politics. He had a very silly piece on the of Lords in the New States week. So he could go, I mean anyone who specializes in Latin or Women's Things (over-stressed in both areas).

English. Well, what can Our records show round about and that's a bit over the top. chop Old English, the Poots, the Contemporary or Novel, or something like that? But keep off structure a little sensitive, even a difficult chap's gone (a clyde). Twenty-six something final number here. Which go just eight Ilys. (Sorry: one involuntary redundancy).

The big one, I'm afraid. We had a long letter from whose daughter was at your years ago and who felt quite that it was all a bit below par. chop there. All 32 more about that one, but there's quite a bit of history around well, you win some, you lose nothing much more. No, you might have predicted the electronics and computer. While best wishes to you and (does she still make that apple crumble?)

Cheerio for now,

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Social science action group fights back

by John O'Leary

Eleven of Britain's most distinguished social scientists today warned ministers of the lasting effects of further cuts on higher education. Short-term expedients are being employed without proper debate about the consequences for the future social fabric of the country, they say.

The group voices its fears in an eight-page statement 'The Need for Education in Times of Social and Economic Change' which has been sent to Mr Mark Carlisle, Secretary of State for Education, and other ministers. It was drawn up by the Social Science Action Committee, an ad hoc body brought together by the British Sociological Association but spanning all disciplines in the area.

The signatories include Dr William Taylor, director of the London University Institute of Education, Professor Royden Harrison, professor of social history at Warwick University and Professor Mairi Jahoda, of the Science Policy Unit at the University of Sussex. The committee is chaired by Professor Margaret Stacey, president of the BSA and includes representatives of the polytechnics and the Open University.

In its statement, the group acknowledges the need for efficiency in the use of human and material resources in higher education, but warns against false economies. In particular, the academics are concerned that the reduction in the number of undergraduates and postgraduates should be recognised as a measure which will have numerous and unintended long-term consequences.

"A reduction of this flow has the inevitable effect not only of reducing the flow of skilled and educated personnel but also of reducing the know-

ledge base of the country," says the committee. "It is perhaps not sufficiently widely realised that the proposed cuts in higher education will have a cumulative effect which will continue over the next decades."

Within higher education, the group foresees little staff movement between institutions. "The dangers of stagnation in scholarship, poor research and bad teaching are obvious. Government cannot intend this consequence of the proposed economies: namely running down not only the viability but creativity of scholarship. This occurs at a time, as we have argued, when because of surrounding changes knowledge, training, skills, imaginativeness and critical ability are particularly called for," says the statement.

The statement argues that it is essential for society to maintain the level of general knowledge if its scientific, technical and industrial skills are to continue to flourish. The social sciences are seen as having a crucial role to play in the continuation of culture and civilisation and alarm is expressed at actions which threaten the production of social data.

"Without adequate data, prejudiced argument about the implications of changes and what measures to take with regard to them will replace reasoned debate," the group says. "Along with this will go the consequent danger of ill-informed policy making. Furthermore, prejudiced conflict is not conducive to social order."

The group is meeting during the summer to produce more detailed information on the contribution of higher education and the dangers inherent in cutting it back. It intends to bring out a fuller report later in the year.

Qualified EEC success

from David Jobbins

LUXEMBOURG
Common Market education ministers believe they have given fresh impetus to the process of breaking down the barriers which hinder mutual recognition of academic qualifications between the 10 member states.

But ambitious proposals put forward by Dr Arie Pais, the Dutch chairman of the council of education ministers, were substantially modified during discussions which dragged on into the early evening.

Dr Pais had put forward his proposals in an effort to break what he afterwards called 20 years of deadlock. He tried to persuade the ministers to move away from deciding which qualifications from other member states were equivalent to their own in an ad hoc way.

"My position was that we should look at things at the macro level and base ourselves on the acceptance of each other's cultural and scientific levels. In the community it would be logical to accept each other's cultural equivalents."

However, although the talks were not dogged by the procedural wrangling which held up the breakthrough on

freer movement of students within the community until a year ago, ministers felt Dr Pais's plans needed more study. Instead they agreed:

- to improve information exchange on qualifications through the community's Eurymed network;
- to continue with bilateral - and where possible multilateral - recognition agreements.

Most importantly they called for a report by next year on the whole question, and pointed out that it was relevant not only to universities but to other forms of higher education, and that mutual recognition was significant not only between member states but with third countries as well.

Dr Pais said afterwards: "The ministers hope a new impetus has been given, that we have speeded up a discussion which has dragged on for 20 years."

Youth unemployment and the falling birth rate - the last phenomenon shared by all the member states except Ireland and Greece - dominated the talks.

Commissioner Mr Ivor Richard described rising unemployment as calamitous and called for closer integration of education and training, a theme taken up by a number of ministers.

UGC letters may start battles

by Ngai Creguer

The University Grants Committee may give far less guidance than expected in its letters to universities which will be posted next Tuesday. This will leave the universities open to campus infighting when they make necessary cuts.

The letters on the share out of the recurrent grant will specify volume cuts but will only indicate from which subject areas these should be made. This could lead to department fighting department.

Last minute changes were made this week with subject sub-committee members trying to protect some areas from extreme cuts. It is likely that arts and social science will suffer more than science although the latter's staff-student ratio are bound to suffer.

The UGC is planning an 11 per cent cut in income between 1979/80 and 1983/4. It was expected to show its final recommendations to Mr Mark Carlisle, Secretary of State for Education, this week. The committee will allow six

months consultation after the letters are received and is aware that it will be open to challenge on its arithmetic as well as its proposals.

Mr Carlisle is still considering a request from Mr Neil Kinnock MP, Labour education spokesman, to display copies of the letters in the House of Commons library immediately. The Association of University Teachers said this week that if the request was refused, they would ask Mr Joel Barnett, chairman of the Public Accounts Committee to intervene on the grounds that the UGC is dealing with public money.

This week Mr Laurie Supper, general secretary of the AUT accused Dr Rhodes Boyson, education under secretary of being "almost the minister of mis-information."

He said Dr Boyson had put out so much misinformation about the universities that the public, press and MPs were being hoodwinked. Mr Boyson, he claimed, had said the universities

would have to be recast because of the decline in the 18-year-old population. Mr Supper said there were 25 per cent more 18-year-olds in the 1980s than the 1970s.

Dr Boyson had said the staff-student ratio in British universities was twice as favourable than those at Harvard and Yale but, said Mr Supper, it was 1:10 in Britain, compared with between 1:9 and 1:12 in America and British degrees took only three years.

The AUT will urge rejection of the letters in universities most seriously hit in the proposals. In some cases they may propose short, selective strikes.

The union will also approach all the Commonwealth ministers due to attend the prime ministers conference in Melbourne in September to raise the overseas fees issue.

In London, the AUT is to formally meet the university court to urge distribution of recurrent grant to the colleges on the same basis as previous years.



Professor Laurence Martin, vice chancellor of Newcastle University, puts the final touches to the top of the new four-storey library. The new library, which is costing more than £3,600,000, is due to open in the autumn of 1982.

Natfhe set to quit Burnham

The main college lecturers' union is almost certain to carry out its threat to pull out of the Burnham further education committee. If the Government confirms its decision to give the rival Association of Polytechnic Teachers a seat.

Leaders of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education met today to review the announcement by Mr Mark Carlisle, Secretary of State for Education, earlier this week, that he is "minded" to give APT a seat. But they have already taken the decision in principle to walk out.

There is still a strong probability - acknowledged by the APT - that it might be barred from membership of the national joint council on conditions of service.

Mr Carlisle has given employers' associations and the unions already on

CNAA survey angers polys

by Paul Flather

A host of grievances against the operation and role of the Council for National Academic Awards has been stirred up by the council's recent report for colleges and polytechnics to supply a breakdown of their resource difficulties.

Many polytechnic directors feel that the CNAA has over-stepped the mark in demanding information not strictly linked to academic standards, although most have replied in some form.

They are beginning to count the cost of responding to all the CNAA demands for their institutions, and feel some form of formal licensing arrangement for "mature" polytechnics is an urgent priority. They think the Partnership in Validation scheme is failing.

Dr David Bethel, director of Leicester Polytechnic, and a former chairman of the Committee of Directors of Polytechnics, said the CNAA was getting on to the wrong tack with its survey.

Dr William Davey, president of Portsmouth Polytechnic, said the most pertinent question was whether the CNAA had outlived its usefulness. He estimated it cost Portsmouth £330,000 directly and another £300,000 indirectly, to do CNAA work. He claimed it cost the 30 polytechnics £20m altogether.

"We must ask if polytechnics can now afford the CNAA. The new universities of the 1960s were given carte blanche after five years. Why do we as mature institutions need perpetual supervision?" he asked.

Dr Ray Rickett, chairman of the CDP and director of Middlesex said the CNAA should now consider some form of licensing arrangement for polytechnics.

He criticised the survey on two grounds: first there was no direct link between resources and academic standards, the real business of the CNAA. Second polytechnics had enough confidence to handle off courses or limit student intakes if they thought money was short.

So far the CNAA has received almost 120 replies to its survey. The replies are to be collected in a report and discussed at a full CNAA council meeting next Tuesday.

Leader, back page

North American news

Moves to help victims of culture shock

from Clive Cookson

WASHINGTON

An unfortunate few are hit by culture shock severe enough to drive them into mental hospital. Almost all suffer minor difficulties, such as hassles with the United States immigration service or misunderstandings with their university administration.

They are the 300,000 foreign students in the United States, whose problems are being investigated by a committee of the American Council on Education. The committee of 12 university leaders was formed last autumn because many institutions wanted advice about dealing with the current deluge of overseas students.

The number of foreigners studying here has increased more than threefold over the past 15 years, rising by 100,000 in the past three years alone. But the United States has no national policy for foreign students and no government agency has general responsibility for their welfare. The burden rests firmly on individual colleges and universities, whose staff may not know how to treat non-American students.

The committee met last week at American University in Washington, to hear suggestions and complaints from individual foreign students, from representatives of countries that send large numbers of young men and women to the United States for undergraduate and postgraduate training, and from the American organizations that are involved with them here. American University president Richard Berendzen, who chairs the committee, said its report, giving practical guidance to college and university administrators who deal with overseas students, would be released in October at the ACE annual meeting.

The Kenyan ambassador to the United States, John Mbugua, spoke of the change in people's attitudes since 1958, when he came over with the first influx of students from Kenya to the

United States. Americans were more welcoming then, he said, and more excited about having foreign students in their midst, because there were so few of them.

Mr Mbugua said American universities were now the favourite destination for young Kenyans. The old perception that Oxford and Cambridge offered the best education in the world was no longer so strong, while Kenyans went to the Soviet Union only because they were offered free scholarships there.

Despite their enthusiasm, Mr Mbugua said, "A lot of students get what is called culture shock in the United States and we get a few sad cases where students just can't take it and they have to go to an asylum."

Saif Abdullah, director of Kuwait University's Washington office, spoke for the 35 per cent of foreign students who come from OPEC countries. In general, he said: "Our experience with the American educational system has been a happy one."

But Dr Abdullah added that American universities do not make things as easy for foreign students as they could. He complained particularly about their use of standardized multiple-choice tests as entrance examinations. These are clearly biased against students from non-American educational systems and cultures, he said.

Dr Berendzen suggested to Dr Abdullah that the number of students coming to the United States from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states would soon reach a peak, as those countries expanded their own new universities. But the Kuwait representative predicted that the flow would continue to increase for several more years, because the region's demand for higher education was expanding faster than its universities. Growth in the number of students seeking business courses was particularly rapid, he said.

Andreas Siebers, an American University student from Germany, said:

"Many problems of foreign students can be boiled down to one term: lack of communications." Barriers to communication were often cultural. For example, students from countries where relations with professors are very formal often found it hard to communicate with the relaxed jeans-wearing American academic. They are confused by his casual manner in thinking that he is not really interested in them, Mr Siebers said.

Every university should have an office responsible for the welfare of its international students, Mr Siebers suggested. It should help them to find accommodation and fill in immigration and other official forms, and look after them in case of financial emergency.

The committee also heard the views of two spokesmen for the United States government: Bob Coughlin, a senior official in the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and Edward McGaffigan, senior policy analyst at the White House office of science and technology policy.

Mr Coughlin said the INS was reviewing its current procedures for admitting foreign students to the United States and monitoring them while they are here, with the intention of cutting down on the form-filling now required of the students and their universities. Student visas had to be renewed annually until 1978 when the system was relaxed, and students were given visas that remained valid for as long as they were enrolled in a full-time academic programme.

That turned out to be too liberal, Mr Coughlin said, when the American government tried to crack down on Iranian students during the hostage crisis last year, and the INS found that many of them had "disappeared". The current system is to give new students a visa timed to expire when they are due to complete their programme — that would normally be four years for someone who comes to the United States for a bachelor's degree. But the

regulations may be changed again soon.

Several people urged the government to make it easier for foreign students to support themselves financially by working part-time. By international standards the United States awards very few scholarships to students from other countries, and the majority of foreigners studying here are financed by themselves or their families. Therefore many of them really need to earn extra money to pay their way.

But, under the present immigration rules, a foreign student may not seek part-time employment without special permission from the INS. That is given only if the student can prove that an unforeseen financial emergency has changed his circumstances since arrival in the United States — for example, a severe devaluation of his country's currency or a family disaster. Mr Coughlin hinted that those regulations might be relaxed to make it easier for overseas students to find a vacation or part-time job legally (many do so illegally at the moment).

Mr McGaffigan of the office of science and technology policy addressed a completely different concern: the fear of some university presidents that the government is planning to use strict control regulations to prevent foreign students joining certain courses or research projects dealing with sensitive areas of high technology that might have military applications. He assured them that the rules were intended only to protect knowledge of "specific weapons systems".

However, Mr McGaffigan added: "This doesn't let universities off the hook entirely, because some professors do have commercial ties outside the classroom", to companies engaged in weapons research. Their access to foreign research students might be restricted by the regulations.

Authors told: you're better off laying bricks...

The average American author made only \$4,900 an hour from his or her work, according to a pioneering study of the economics of professional writing, just completed by Columbia University's Center for the Social Science that is about half the hourly wage of manual labourers like bricklayers and building workers in the United States.

The Authors Guild Foundation claims that the survey, which is a misnomer, is the first statistical study of the financial status of American writers. It is based on information supplied by 2,219 authors, who are members of the Guild or have been invited to join it and declined. Atlanta had at least one book published.

The widespread publicity about a few million-dollar bestsellers seriously distorted the public's understanding of how authors in America really live, said Guild Foundation president Peter Prescott. "We fortunate to have for the first time definitive data based on a large amount of data to serve as a correct picture of the writing profession."

"The study revealed that the average writer earned an average income of \$4,900 a year from his writing. Almost half the sample supplemented their income by working at other jobs — other college or university teachers.

However, even amongst those categorized as "committed full-time writers" 31 per cent made less than \$5,000 a year and only one third made more than \$20,000. Virtually all came from actual books — only 10 per cent was income from articles or scripts.

Of course a fortunate few authors live up to the myth of the American writer. The Guild's survey of the public shows that writers are not the idle rich as they are often portrayed in the media. The average income of the author is \$4,900 a year from his or her writing. The top ten per cent make more than \$45,000 a year from their writing. The top five per cent make more than \$20,000 a year.

Even the authors making \$4,900 a year from his or her writing are living far above the poverty line. The writers' median personal income from all sources turned out to be \$27,000. Part-time writers (those who write for less than 10 hours a week) had a median income of \$10,000. Full-time writers (median total income \$20,000) often enjoyed a substantial unearned income from investments.

In addition, half the authors had working husbands or wives. The earnings pushed the median total income of an American writer up to \$38,000 a year — enough to enjoy a comfortable middle-class lifestyle. Although the Authors Guild Foundation presents writers as a hard-working group who are forced to eke out their meagre earnings from their books and other, less satisfying work, they are also seen as a privileged group blessed with the financial means to do what they enjoy most — write.

The survey, which was conducted by Columbia University Sociologists Jonathan Kingdon, Jonathan Cole and Robert Merton, came to the surprising conclusion that factors such as social background, educational level and geographical location had no significant effect on authors' earnings. Blacks, Hispanics and Asians made as much money as whites from their writing. College graduates did no better than authors with less than a high school education, and despite new reputation as the home of American success stories, New York City earned no more than the rest of the country, though that could be because the city is also full of struggling writers.

The expected difference between women authors (average income \$4,000 a year) and men (\$5,000 a year) was not significant. A larger gap might have been expected.

However, "genre fiction" — romances, detective stories, Westerns and so on — did emerge clearly as the most profitable type of fiction. These general fiction or non-fiction writers made more than \$50,000 a year.

Overseas news

Hard line on student dissent

from Craig Charney

JOHANNESBURG

Events and official statements during the past week make clear that the South African Government intends getting tough with student dissent.

The toughest action came on June 18, when Mr Sammy Adams, president of the Witwatersrand University's Students Representative Council, was served with a five-year "banning order" by police in Johannesburg.

In terms of the order, he may not be involved in the leadership of any educational or political organization, nor may he attend either political or social gatherings. It appears the order will also oblige him to leave the university at the end of this year, though his course will still have one year to run.

The day before, the chairman of the Wits University Black Student Society, Mr David Johnson, was detained by security police.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, minister of national education, had previously criticized the English-medium universities of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, and Natal for boycotting the Republic Day celebrations on May 31, and repeated his demand that Wits and UCT act against students responsible for flag-burning incidents during anti-Republic Day protests.

To hear top Afrikaans academics urging mixed universities is in itself a remarkable change, however, although the English-medium universities have protested ever since university segregation was written into law in 1959. That very law was pushed through with the consent of the Afrikaans universities and the ruling Afrikaner National Party.

At his press conference, Stellenbosch rector Professor Mike de Vries said that racially mixed universities could provide better education than segregated ones.

"My conviction is that a university education is much more than conveying information in the classroom," he said. "It is also the shaping of character."

Dr de Vries' suggestion was echoed in principle by Professor Wynand Mouton, rector of the University of the Orange Free State, among others.

But Dr Gerrit Viljoen, minister of national education, rejected the plea, repeating that "open" universities are against Government policy.

Special permits have been granted to 4,334 black students to attend white universities this year, a number up 20 per cent on the 1979 figure, according to education department figures.

Even so, however, they represent less than one tenth of the student body at the white institutions.

Prime Minister in the Janata Government, wanted the institute to be closed down because an earlier committee had found it was a "white elephant". Only a handful of its fellows had been productive over the years: most of what was produced was academically second-rate and many fellows saw their tenure at Simla as little more than a free and extended holiday in idyllic surroundings.

Later, as a compromise, it was proposed that the institute continue to function — but amidst the tolling masses on the sweltering plains, not in a cool ivory tower.

When Mr Desai fell in July 1979 and was replaced by a six-month caretaker administration, the federal education minister, Dr Karan Singh, the ex-maharajah of Kashmir, gave the institute a reprieve by extending its lease to March 1980.

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These statements followed a wave of anti-Republic Day protests on both black and white campuses, as well as class boycotts by Indian students at the University of Durban-Westville, and by mixed race students at the University of the Western Cape the week of June 16, commemorating the fifth anniversary of Soweto uprising.

Three other student leaders, Azhar and Izz Chachalia, also of the Wits BSS, and Andrew Boraine, president of the White National Union of South African Students had already been detained as part of the post-Republic Day crackdown.

Before the new anti-dissent measures were announced, the main line of contention over the week had centred on a surprise call for racially integrated universities made by the rector of Stellenbosch University, South Africa's leading Afrikaans university, on his return from a study trip abroad.

His call was echoed cautiously by other Afrikaans university administrators, but rejected outright by the Government.

To hear top Afrikaans academics urging mixed universities is in itself a remarkable change, however, although the English-medium universities have protested ever since university segregation was written into law in 1959. That very law was pushed through with the consent of the Afrikaans universities and the ruling Afrikaner National Party.

At his press conference, Stellenbosch rector Professor Mike de Vries said that racially mixed universities could provide better education than segregated ones.

"My conviction is that a university education is much more than conveying information in the classroom," he said. "It is also the shaping of character."

Dr de Vries' suggestion was echoed in principle by Professor Wynand Mouton, rector of the University of the Orange Free State, among others.

But Dr Gerrit Viljoen, minister of national education, rejected the plea, repeating that "open" universities are against Government policy.

Special permits have been granted to 4,334 black students to attend white universities this year, a number up 20 per cent on the 1979 figure, according to education department figures.

Even so, however, they represent less than one tenth of the student body at the white institutions.

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Hope grows for new university at Herdecke

from James Hutchinson

BONN

Tentative steps have been taken to provide West Germany with its first independent university. It would be established at Herdecke, a small town in North Rhine-Westphalia and would cater for between 2,000 and 3,000 students.

A final decision rests with the State Government which is considering an application from a committee of some 40 people, composed mainly of university teachers from several countries, as well as professional scientists, doctors and lawyers. The Government appears to be sympathetic to the plan, and has said encouragingly that "competition can do no harm".

Herdecke would be the antithesis of the mass university where lectures are attended by as many as a thousand students who have little contact with the teachers. The length of courses would not be prescribed, and individual tuition would be fostered. There would be a strong emphasis on vocational training, and students would be expected to acquire a wide general knowledge.

Thus a law graduate might be required to understand also the principles of psychology, and is likely to be

acquainted with the work of the courts and to know something about the rehabilitation of convicts. The administration of the university, it is said, will be "Republican" and based on co-partnership at all levels.

The committee is confident that enough money will be available. Promises of financial support have been made by many industrial concerns, especially small and medium sized ones. Ultimately, it is hoped, that graduates of Herdecke, once they are settled in well-paid careers, will become generous benefactors.

The idea of opening independent universities in Germany is not new. Some years ago there was talk of starting an "elite university" near Stuttgart. Another plan, conceived by the medical association, was to establish a private medical school. But both schemes came to nothing, mainly for financial reasons.

Two of the members of the committee, a neurologist and a psychiatrist, were among a group of doctors who founded a private hospital in Westphalia 12 years ago, catering mainly for patients on the German equivalent of the national health service.

Placement service aims to ease lot of the unemployed

from D. B. Udalingama

COLOMBO

A graduate placement service has been set up under the Ministry of Education, Employment and Youth Affairs with an allocation of Rs 4m for the current year.

It has been found that it is not only general arts graduates who are without jobs. The unemployed include graduates with science degrees, and those who have gone through "job-oriented" courses such as business and public administration. It is curious that in a country where there is a desperate shortage of qualified teachers there should be BEd degree holders among the ranks of the unemployed graduates.

Traditionally, graduates here preferred the teaching profession or the higher grades of the civil service but avenues in this sphere have become restricted in recent years.

The graduate placement service now seeks employment opportunities for them in spheres where hitherto graduates have shown no inclination to enter, notably the tourist industry and nursing.

Plans under way include re-training graduates for particular jobs in the free trade and banking sectors.

It is reported that the possibility of employing them in the teaching profession, where there is an acute shortage of science, maths and commerce teachers has been examined. Some of

the science graduates have apparently been found to have an inadequate knowledge to be able to teach their subjects at secondary school level and the possibility of equipping them with a degree of competence in this respect is under study.

Another possible avenue of employment is that of agricultural settlement. Banks have already been approached for loans.

But the experience of the Federation of University Women in their scheme of self-employment for women arts graduates seems to suggest that it is not always practicable.

One woman has been quoted as saying that it is only the rich who can afford self-employment. Most of them, as undergraduates, had obtained loans from banks of which they had not repaid even the first instalment. How could they get more loans?

Another who had taken to poultry farming found difficulty in buying feed. Prices went up more than she could afford. She turned to cattle raising but found she lacked knowledge and experience to make a go of it.

There are a few success stories in self-employment, but apparently not enough to make the prospect an alluring one.

By Sri Lanka standards, where the annual intake of students is 5,000, the number of unemployed graduates, put at about 4,000, is high. Some of them graduated as long ago as 1975.

Raw deal for academics in cost of living stakes

Academic living standards have further declined in the United States over the past year. In real terms, faculty salaries in 1980/81 were 2.6 per cent below 1979/80 and 21.1 per cent less than ten years ago.

That was the gloomy news that greeted members of the American Association of University Professors as they assembled in Washington for their annual meeting. The AAUP salary survey, which is based on data collected from 2,550 colleges and universities by the National Center for Education Statistics, showed that the average faculty member earned 8.7 per cent more in 1980/81 than the year before — in absolute terms that is the largest increase the profession has ever received.

But University of Wisconsin economics professor, Lee Hansen, who presented the report to the meeting, said the Consumer Price Index rose by 11.6 per cent during 1980/81, leaving academics with 2.6 per cent less purchasing power than a year ago. The consolation is that the real decline was considerably less than the 5.6 per cent loss that Dr Hansen reported at last year's meeting.

The average salary of all American academics is now \$23,650 (and total compensation counting fringe benefits is \$27,930).

There is no doubt that the American professorate has fared worse over the past decade, in relation to the cost of living and, even more strikingly, in comparison to other professional groups, than its British counterpart.

Professor Hansen reminded his colleagues of some of the consequences of academic salary erosion in the United States. "The lure of higher salaries outside the academic sector is triggering an exodus of some of our most talented colleagues, especially in fields where demand is strong," he said.

"Talented young people are shifting to other career paths where both short-term and long-term opportunities are more attractive," Dr Hansen added. "Morale within the professorate is deteriorating, making it more difficult for faculty members to carry on with their important task of training future leaders and expanding our knowledge of the world around us."

Clive Cookson, North American Editor, The Times Higher Education Supplement, National Press Building, Room 541, Washington DC 20045; Telephone: (202) 638 6765

The programme will come under Columbia's new R. C. Kopf professorship in international marketing. The first fellow is Philip Deane of Birmingham, who is completing a PhD in physics at Birmingham University this year and working at Dunlop's tyre research department. With an MBA from Columbia, Mr Deane plans to specialize in the management of technological innovation.

A first in feminism for Stanford

from Charlotte Beyers

PALO ALTO

For the first time in its 90 year history, Stanford University will offer students the chance to create their own programme in feminist studies and to receive a bachelor's degree of the same title.

Across the United States more than 300 institutions of higher learning offer courses and degrees in women's studies. But Stanford is the only university whose programme is called feminist studies.

"We decided to call the programme feminist rather than women's studies because we thought that women's studies might imply we are interested in studying only women. And that only women might be interested in pursuing such a programme," explained Diane Middlebrook, associate dean of undergraduate studies.

"The courses are designed to draw students' attention to the fact that there is gender discrimination in society and that this has been true throughout Western civilization since its inception. Women students need to be aware of how discrimination affects their lives," she added.

Her colleague, English professor Ann Mellor, pointed out that although many Stanford women graduate with degrees in law, business or medicine, seven years later they are less likely than their male colleagues to be made partners in their firms. They will also be earning less.

"Women don't necessarily want to play the game the way men play it. When they go into careers, they often don't value competition, they often don't make room in their lives for friendships, marriages and even motherhood," Dr Mellor added.

The programme is trying to encourage women to have careers and to be mothers. "Women have different career rhythms. They may take five or more years out, or even work half-time. It is often undervalued by society," Dr Mellor said.

The programme began five years ago



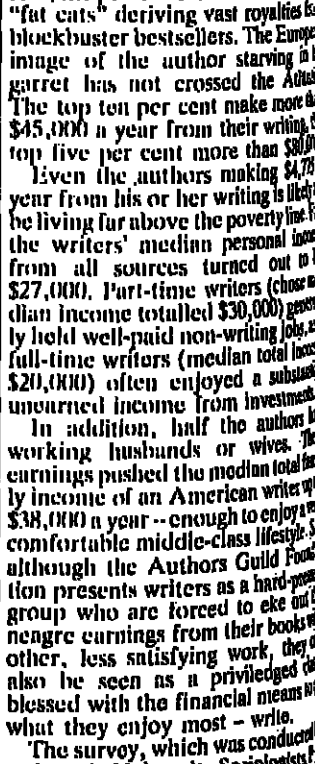
Hammering the point home: a woman carpenter... the Stanford degree course in feminist studies emphasizes that women have different 'career rhythms'.

when a group of women teachers met to discuss how to coordinate their teaching on women.

Each student who opts for the programme may take an introductory and a theory course and a seminar on such topics as "Women in language and symbol", "The Victorian heritage", or "The intersections of sex, class and race in society". Students are given the chance to learn about women's roles in other cultures.

They must also gain some practical experience outside the university, by participating in some form of work that is directly involved with women's issues in the community — such as the care of battered women.

Eva Lorent, a senior student who has just completed the programme, says that it has helped her to see women's accomplishments that are not traditionally stressed at the university.



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New president for science academy

by John Gardner

New China News Agency recently reported that China's Academy of Sciences has elected as

Guy Neave looks at the implications for French higher education now that Giscard and his minister, Mme. Saunier-Seïté, have gone. Popular she may have been, but she presided over an authoritarian system which was a reflection of the Government.

from a special correspondent

The hoped-for economic effect—the

former and chaos among the latter meant that academia was no longer capable of drawing up any alternative that was credible to outsiders.

Just as the Giscardian's policy in higher education was to resurrect the Napoleonic University, so their successors' is to bury it once again. But key to any reform of higher

It has long been a key item in left wing thinking since, in fact, the Common Manifesto of 1972, that all past generations established a

All indications are that, in the area of higher education, the Republic can look forward to one of the most radical changes since 1945. As far as the grandeur of the revolution is concerned, the government appears committed to completing the revolution that began in 1945.

Dr K. A. G. Miller, managing director
APV Holdings, Crawley

The billion pound carve-up

A full-time secretariat services the committee. Most are seconded from the Department of Education and Science and senior members attend committee meetings.

They constantly seek information from the universities, that is, from the senior staff officials, on student practices followed in the 1960s.

Since 1972 the UGC has been advising universities on student target numbers. It also provides information on the

Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

**Dr James Munn OBE, rector of
Cathkin High School, Glasgow**

Poland thinks again

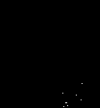
through the ridiculous — the stock when he was asked to which "problem" the Institute's calculator belonged — to the messy tangle — the formal requirement that a science pedigree be prolonged to a particular "problem" which was now complete, the heretic should be put down or dispersed (it was saved only by transferring it, on paper to another "problem").

Nevertheless, Dr. Kienowski depicted the all too common Polish attitude which grades the importance of a scientist in direct proportion to the extent he is removed from practical applications — and also the outlook of many high-ranking officials who treat scientists, he said, as "dead weight."

A few months later, however, in the area of Poland farmers, who in the 1950s were not as numerous as at Zborozda Duzza in the Gdansk province, set up their own "Peasants' University" - an educational self-help scheme, based on traditions from before the First World War.

Since September, 1980 official obstruction of educational initiatives has ceased. New textbooks, new syllabi for the official university courses, and new examinations have been introduced, and less stringent censorship laws have been implemented. In the meanwhile many universities have unlocked their holdings of "restricted" books, their "Flying Universities".

This seems to suggest that if the realization of higher education possibilities for the Society for Academic Progress is to find a new role — providing, for example, "Flying University" but further education facilities for industrial workers and farmers. To those familiar with the history of clandestine education in Poland, this would be a symbol of a satisfying conclusion. For in the nineteenth century, Warsaw had an earlier underground "flying university" — Marie Curie was its most famous alumna — which met in the secret premises of the Little-Frequent Museum of Industry and Agriculture.



Dr K. A. G. Miller, managing director
APV Holdings, Crawley



Professor M. Hesse FBA, department of history and philosophy of science, University of Cambridge



Professor J. C. Gupta, CBE, FRSE,
Cargill professor of natural philosophy
University of Glasgow



Mr R. S. Johnson, director of education, Leeds City Council



**Dr James Munn OBE, rector of
Cathkin High School, Glasgow**



The frequent allusions to "The British Disease" in discussions of our economy's relatively poor performance make it natural to think that this might be attributed largely to way in which the economy has been managed by successive Governments. To my mind the severity of this "disease" is usually exaggerated, and its causes lie mainly in other deep-rooted factors (which will be discussed in later articles): it would be nice if this were not so, and a remedy could be found in a change of Government policies. Nevertheless, the central management of the economy is clearly relevant, and makes a natural starting point for this series of articles. The ways in which this has been carried out have evolved with time and so, indeed, have the proclaimed objectives which the Government has sought to achieve. As we shall see below, the advent of Mrs Thatcher's Government in 1979 produced a major change, at least on professed objectives and general approach to the problems, even though the outcome in practice has borne little resemblance to the declared intentions.

First, then, a brief and rather dogmatic analysis of the major objectives as most people see them — recognizing that views will differ, especially on priorities, and that "management" may aim at achieving them indirectly, rather than directly. My own list would be as follows:

A high level of employment. It seems to me that a major objective must be to avoid the risk that large numbers of people should for any length of time be genuinely unable to find a proper job. I regard the short-hand expression "full employment" as dangerous, because in a complex economy there is bound to be some mis-matching between the demand for specialized types of worker in particular places and the supply, even though geographical mobility and training can improve the adaptability of the supply. But I reject as totally misleading the dogmas of academic theorists many of them centred in (Moreside) which regard all unemployment as "voluntary" almost by definition: management of the economy should seek to ensure a high level of employment (ie a low level of involuntary unemployment) whether or not its actions operate directly to "create" or "preserve" jobs.

A reasonable rate of growth. A high level of employment in any year will normally mean that the level of output (and hence of real national income) is not too far below its current potential. A second objective is that that potential should be raised at a reasonable pace, as time passes, for example, through the accumulation of more and better physical capital, the use of better methods, the better training of workers.

This does not mean giving overriding priority to seeking the highest possible rate of growth: that might well mean excessive disturbances of particular people by the working of the rate, and might also create troubles in the fields of pollution, fuel shortage and the like faster than they can be solved. As with so many of these things, a sense of proportion and a respect for conflicting objectives are essential.

An "acceptable" distribution of income. This is a vast field in which people's value judgments are likely to differ most greatly, and I can do more than list such subsidiary (and conflicting) criteria as:

- a system for protecting (at a socially acceptable level) the living standards of those who may have little or no power to secure an adequate income — eg children, the elderly, the sick and

the genuinely unemployed.

- some degree of protection of the economically weak in their bargains with those who are economically strong.

- a tax system which does not unduly penalize the enterprising and the hard-working, but which does not offend violently against ideas of social justice, and which yields the necessary revenue.

- an inheritance system and an education system which strike an acceptable balance between the objectives of equal opportunity and of parental concern for their children.

None of these criteria can be precisely defined, and there is an underlying conflict between those who believe in leaving it to individuals to accept responsibility for their own welfare (and that of their family), and those who believe in using the power of the State to mitigate the inequalities produced by an unequal start in life and the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune".

A reasonable degree of price stability. In my view, this comes rather near to being an "intermediate objective", important primarily for the contribution which it may make to securing a higher real national income in real terms and a more equitable distribution.

Nevertheless there can be no doubt that really rapid changes in the value of money are evil in themselves (especially for their distributional consequences, but also for the inconvenience which they cause). So a place in the list of fundamental objectives should at least be given to "the avoidance of violent movements in the general price-level".

The above list of "fundamental objectives" clearly presents difficulties of definition and reconciliation, quite apart from the problem of how to achieve them. It may however seem very incomplete: there is no mention for example of a stable exchange rate, a balanced budget, a high level of investment, a healthy balance of payments, or "a low enough level of the PSBR to permit a reduced growth in £3m and lower interest-rates". (The last was the basic objective of Sir Geoffrey Howe's recent budget).

Basically, however, these things are intermediate objectives about which Governments may have strong views because they think that they will influence what happens on the fundamental ones, but which are of little importance in themselves. One can hardly imagine that anybody feels either happier or unhappier simply because the rise in £3m is how fast it was, though he may be interested in the consequences which he thinks will follow (whether he believes that it means more unemployment because firms are dismissing workers rather than borrowing from the banks, or slower price-increases, or both). Even a high level of investment is important primarily because one hopes that it will lead to a growth in real income when the projects are complete — and if the investment consists in building Concorde's, or atomic power stations, which do not work, these hopes may not be realized.

As a very broad generalization, the Government view about managing the economy which prevailed in the

Phoney wars and false economies

In our continuing series of articles on 'the British Disease', W. B. Reddaway finds that many things which were supposedly under Government control have not behaved in the intended manner.



nineteenth century was that this was not really its concern. Thus:

- there were undoubtedly trade cycles, and these might bring a distressingly high level of unemployment, but the Government was not responsible for creating the cycles and could not be expected to cure them: the most that it could do was to preserve law and order, so that (hopefully) natural forces could operate to restore prosperity, and to provide minimal support for the victims through the Poor Law.

- similarly, growth of the national income through accumulation of capital, etc. was something the Government was glad to see, but its own contribution could only be indirect, through the provision of law and order and a sound currency.

- the distribution of income as such was something about which the Government neither could nor should do anything, though such things as property laws and compulsory education had some indirect effects on it, and the Poor Law and workhouses provided some sort of safety net at a very low level.

- price-movements as such were not within the Government province, though the intermediate objective of a sound "currency" based on gold served to prevent violent movements.

The above "traditional" view evolved slowly (for example, through the development of social insurance schemes and much higher tax levels, particularly on high incomes). A really major change came, however, during and after the Second World War. The Beveridge Report on a comprehensive system of social insurance and the 1944 White Paper on *A High and Stable Level of Employment* constitute the major landmarks in the changing of ideas. Perhaps one should also add the "Butler" Education Act, which heralded a big move towards equal opportunities in education and a general system of grants to enable people considered able to profit by tertiary education to

obtain it, independently of their family means.

Here it is only possible to discuss what was loosely called the "full employment" objective, which the White Paper accepted as a Government commitment. The basic idea, in grossly over-simplified form, lay in the recognition that there was nothing in the "automatic" working of the economic system which ensured that there would be the right level of demand to ensure that the nation's productive potential would be utilized to the "right" extent; but Government had a number of fiscal, monetary and administrative powers which it could use, by conscious decisions, to get demand nearer to the right level.

A number of points should at once be made:

- the White Paper wisely avoided the emotive phrase "full employment", which implies a precise target whereas the inevitable mis-matching between supply and demand for specialized types of labour (and of plant too) meant that some degree of both unemployment and shortages was inevitable. Moreover, the instruments available to Government could not possibly be operated so perfectly as to give precise stability of employment in the face of changing circumstances and uncertainties.

- the policy was not a one-sided one, concerned only with stoking up demand when it was deficient (though the unemployment of the inter-war years gave emphasis to that side). An early illustration of the "disinflation" of demand was provided in 1948, when a stiff budget made a major contribution to getting the economy into balance from a position of highly excessive demand (reflected in shortages of many kinds).

- it was recognized that there was a need to secure external balance in the country's transactions with the rest of the world, as well as an internal problem. The disinflationary budget of 1948 helped to tackle both problems, because it reduced the excessive demand for imports, as well as for home-produced goods and services.

- most of the instruments available to the Government affect the level of demand in monetary terms, whereas what is wanted is an effect on demand in real terms. If the instruments had no effect on the level of prices, this would naturally be of no importance; and if their effect on prices were less than proportionate they would still produce some result. The great debate over methods of managing the economy turns largely on how far a change in the level of monetary demand will affect prices and real demand respectively, and whether monetary and fiscal policies to influence monetary demand can be combined with other types of policy to influence prices.

For the 25 years up to 1973, Government policy was, in a broad way, based on a philosophy of "demand management" whichever party was in power. And the country has had no quarter-century in all its history in which there was such a sustained growth in output, consumption, exports, investment and other aggregates — all measured in real terms, not just in money. In a broad sense, full employment prevailed in all years and the demand for labour was such that a much greater proportion of

married women could be absorbed.

Government policies helped to produce this result, but it would be wrong to attribute this success story simply to demand management or any one Government action. There would be a period of high demand after war, and in these matters "luck" succeeds like success: the fact that rising continuously gave entrepreneurs confidence to raise their capacity later, in the expectation of further increases in demand. The world, a whole was expanding its output, hence its demand for goods, and the country benefited by the growth of others.

Nevertheless, Government's role in managing the economy was of importance. The main features of its methods might be listed as follows:

- budget changes (mainly on taxes) were used as a means of increasing or decreasing the level of demand according to the Government's diagnosis of the position.

- this diagnosis had regard not only to the internal position (unemployment or over-heating) but also to the balance of payments: on occasion (eg when the devaluation) this was the decisive element.

- monetary policy was largely used as an adaptive way to fit in with budgetary policy, but it made an independent contribution through central bank actions on the quantity and direction of bank lending and through its purchase controls.

- in general, the exchange rate was kept fixed, apart from the devaluations in 1949 and 1967. Exchange control on capital transactions to some extent insulated the British market from those abroad, but import controls and exchange control on current transactions were progressively eliminated.

- some attempts were made from time to time to influence prices and wages by administrative means. These came more frequent and more elaborate as the years went by, becoming slow rise in prices which characterized this quarter-century was showing up of accelerating from one trade cycle to the next. Mr Heath abolished the National Board for Prices and Incomes in accordance with his 1970 election pledge, but then made his last U-turn and set up a Prices Committee and a Pay Board.

The reasons for the economic tendency in prices have been debated. For my part I have attributed it to "the combination" of cost-push and a full employment "policy". To my mind, "cost-push" is a inevitable tendency when so many groups of specialized workers whether of particular types of labour or of anything else, are monopolized in bargaining about the price of their services, and there was a strong expectation to grow stronger as the years went by. There were also in pre-war days these were restraining forces which moderated the effectiveness of the push. This expectation of bad times had persuaded leaders that excessive greed would be punished, and these returned to employers' organizations were over-exposed position by aggressive over-wage-increase, even if it was tolerable at the moment. However, the warning voices of the older leaders on both sides became less persuasive, as the day of reckoning not arrive: the conventional wage-increase rose, and yet it was easy for the employers to pass it on.



Leszek Kolakowski (above) argues that the world's first workers' revolution is taking place in Poland... Ironically 'against a socialist state and under the sign of the cross'...

It may be fairly said that we have been witnessing, through the last eight months, the first workers' revolution: first not just in Poland, but in the world. And this means a revolutionary movement of which the driving force was the conflict between the industrial workers — supported by intellectuals and indeed by the overwhelming mass of the society — and the employers, ie the state and its privileged political police and administrative bureaucracy. Nothing of this kind has ever occurred before. The Bolshevik takeover, though supported by large segments of the worker population (and by a minority of peasants) does not deserve the label: it was carried out under slogans, and driven by claims, which had not content specifically reflecting the interests and the aspirations of industrial workers (peace and land). All the later events in Europe called "proletarian revolutions" were just Soviet military conquests. In other parts of the world they had either the same character or, if not, they had very little to do with the clash between the industrial wage earners and the employers; sometimes national aspirations were at work, sometimes peasants' grievances.

It is remarkable that this first workers' revolution was directed against a socialist state and carried out under the sign of the cross — so much for the great scientific laws of history scientifically discovered scientific Marxism-Leninism.

The second, most remarkable characteristic of the revolution was its deliberate self-restraint, in fact its concern not to be too successful. This, again, is perhaps the unique historical experience. Not unlike all the revolutions throughout history, this one resulted from the unpredictable coincidence of many factors, none of which can be singled out as the cause. That a new powerful wave of strikes was to be expected had been a fairly easy prediction, and most people acquainted with the situation, both in Poland and abroad, in fact made such predictions in the months preceding the upheaval in the summer of 1980. Yet neither the size nor the outcome was certain. There were roughly six possibilities, of which two appeared most unlikely and had been disregarded by all observers.

The most improbable was the repetition of the 1956 scenario: quasi-unanimous and enthusiastic support given to a new party leadership which might emerge as a result of the crisis. Given the party's total and irreversible loss of credibility, the utter collapse of Communist ideology, the complete and well justified absence of hopes for an "internal renewal" of the ruling apparatus, such a solution could be safely dismissed.

Neither could one expect a repetition of the 1970 pattern: a geographically limited outburst of popular anger followed by bloody repression and, once again, by a change of leadership to which a reluctant, qualified and short-term credit would be given — not on any continuing "ideological" basis, but on promises of a significant economic improvement. The widespread hatred, disillusionment and mistrust clearly made such an upshot impossible.

Of the other possibilities, one was a repetition of the 1976 scenario. This was conceivable, but not very probable. It would have meant violent explosions in a number of cities, followed by brutal police repression and a few economic concessions of little significance, without changes in the leadership: a short-term solution that would inevitably have led to new explosions after a moment's respite. Given the accumulation of social tensions, such an outcome was less likely than one of the remaining three, though not impossible.

The fourth possibility was a massive and violent onslaught by the rulers on the democratic opposition groups and on the emergent, though still poorly organized, workers' movement. After all, in the years leading up to 1980, the government had adopted a policy of successive repression and "rectification", neither of which had been sufficiently thorough and consistent to appease or terrorize Polish society. The former leaders may now belatedly regret their irresolution, yet nobody can say what would have happened if they had really used massive force to forestall the oncoming revolt.

But to many people the most likely scenario seemed at the same time the most dreaded: mass riots leading to chaos, to the collapse of the entire social fabric, to the rapid disintegration of the machinery of power and to the prompt restoration of "order" by bloody Soviet invasion, massacres and untold sufferings, all of which would have put at risk the entire European security system.

What actually happened was surprising not only to all outsiders but, with few exceptions, to the Poles in Poland. The admirable discipline which the workers displayed in their largely improvised sit-in strikes, their clearly articulated political will, their contemptuous refusal to be taken in by all the tricks of old whereby the rulers tried at the outset to bribe them; their ability to resist provocation, to prevent the occurrence of riots and violence; their cool-headed strength in pressing for institutional changes and in enforcing them; their complete detachment from the verbiage of official ideology — ("socialism", "communism", "capitalism"), the lack of the illusions which invariably accompany revolutionary movement — all this caught us by surprise.

Time and time again the party leaders, intent on preventing the machinery of power from utterly falling apart, kept repeating the same single argument which, they knew, might have reached the ears of the population and was, in fact, the only means of communication between the rulers and the ruled: Soviet tanks ("our friends are worried"), "you jeopardize the very existence of the Polish state", etc.)

The argument was real, no doubt, and reinforced by the increasing chaos threatening from Moscow. No Polish child is ignorant of the fact that the country lives in the shadow of Soviet imperialism, or that the protectors have their bases scattered both in various parts of Poland and near all her borders. Nor is anybody unaware of the importance in their lives of the poor and fragile elements of Polish independence. It was enough to compare the conditions in Poland, for all the intolerable burden of Communist oppression, with, say, the pathetic misery of Baltic countries which the Soviet state had simply annexed (ie, "liberated"). Still, if the argument failed to intimidate people as the rulers had wished, this was not only because it was naturally eroded of meaning by constant repetition but because in revolutionary processes where the feeling of regained spiritual freedom dominates the atmosphere, it is in general very difficult to terrorize people by explaining to them the peril they risk. To fight for freedom is never safe.

People have been aware of the peril nevertheless, yet the nature of the revolutionary process refused to have it on the government's terms (of at least, just disguised surrender). They handled it instead in their own way, according to their own assessments, and rapidly became aware of their strength and ability to impose their will. Indeed, it was clear that if the internal distribution of forces alone had counted, the entire power structure would have gone to pieces within days. Yet this was a strange revolution in a cage. Everybody knew as much,

An unique revolution

able. It would have meant violent explosions in a number of cities, followed by brutal police repression and a few economic concessions of little significance, without changes in the leadership: a short-term solution that would inevitably have led to new explosions after a moment's respite.

This was perhaps the reason, or one of the reasons, for the absence of illusions. There were no foolish expectations of a New World and no ideological jargon of any kind. People did not try to "abolish alienation"; they did not fight "for true socialism" or "against socialism"; they did not want the government to make them happy, nor did they expect it to change Poland overnight into a land of milk and honey. All their demands were specific, with no doubt left about their content. And the workers were aware, from the very outset, that whatever the struggle would be, it would be and it would not gain the freedom of speech and print, or at least significantly widen this freedom.

The demands were political, of course, in the sense that in a system wherein in principle all the decisions in all areas of public life (and in many of private life as well) belong to the party, all non-authorized initiatives, demands, social bonds, and forms of organization, run against this "principle" — and are thereby political by definition. This "principle", though, has never operated in Poland as efficiently; even Polish Stalinism, for all its monstrosities, was less consistent and somewhat half-hearted by comparison with other countries'. Since 1956, in spite of all the pressures, persecutions and attempts to give the country a totalitarian respectability, it has been clear that the goal was simply unattainable; important pockets of cultural and even economic life independent of the state persisted. This was the background against which the size, impact and success of the 1980-81 movement have to be assessed. It is, to be sure, a major breakthrough in the process of wrenching away from the state large areas of initiative, yet these gains would have hardly been possible if the corrosion of totalitarian structures had not been progressing for years, notwithstanding the country's immensely inflated secret police network.

The contribution of events in Poland to the general political prospects of Europe may be evaluated in three ways. Not only have the events demonstrated how totalitarian institutions could disintegrate step by step as a result of strong peaceful pressure and also proved a significant symptom of a step towards the decomposition of the Soviet empire, they might be significant for the West as well. It is conceivable that they will speed up the process which has been going on surreptitiously for many years, heralding the restructuring of political divisions in the western world.

Indeed, it is arguable that we have observed very important events of which the meaning — whatever the outcome might be in the next few months — cannot be easily absorbed within conceptual categories normally employed by major sections of the western political spectrum. They are simply beyond the customary political classifications.

Was this movement "democratic"? Certainly, in a sense, but it did not demand the restoration of democratic institutions. Was it "nationalistic"? Was it "religious"? "Anti-imperialist"? Can it be defined as an act of class struggle? Was it "socialist"? Was it "anti-socialist" or "anti-communist"? Was it trade-unionist or political? We may stretch each of those words and make it applicable, and yet none is applicable without various restrictions.

This might explain, although not entirely, the uneasiness one could feel in the western reaction to events in Poland, for all the support they might have enjoyed. Except for Communists

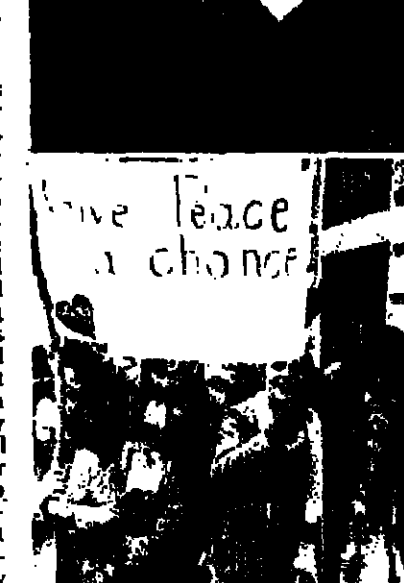
of the Muscovite kind who either avoided the issue as much as they could or just repeated the Kremlin's verdicts, everybody seemed to express support — a truly unusual spectacle — yet only few did so without hidden or open anxiety and embarrassment. From conservative sides of the spectrum one heard the support given to the anti-communist and anti-Soviet forces at work, yet it was mixed with a great fear at the prospect of possible "destabilization" in Eastern Europe, with all its imaginable consequences. Those dwindling leftist sects which are still unambiguously anti-Soviet welcomed the events while lamenting the terribly underdeveloped class-consciousness of workers who displayed portraits of the Pope, rather than of Trotsky, and sang Catholic and national songs instead of the *Internationale*, as the laws of history obliged them to do. A more or less cautious and diplomatic support was given to the movement by social democrats. (It was naturally more cautious and more diplomatic among those in power or close to power; the same spectre of "destabilization" haunted them.) A reluctant and belated approval was not surprisingly heard from the socialist left, as they unhappily share both kinds of puns: the diplomatic panic of the establishment and ideological panic of the leftists. Prompt and unambiguous support came from some workers' unions (in the United States and in Italy, among others) and from many individuals not inhibited by ideological clichés, party loyalties, diplomatic considerations or the horror of appearing too leftist, rightist or centrist (or not sufficiently rightist, not sufficiently leftist, too moderate in extremism, too extremist in moderation, etc.).

Thus, it is not inconceivable that Poland's incomplete revolution might deepen the ideological confusion of the West and further reveal the incongruity of inherited doctrines, which remain officially binding in all parts of the political spectrum, with the most burning issues and conflicts of our world. And there is not much to be regretted about this possibly unintentional result.

Through the inertial resistance of the existing divisions well established in party organisms, political jargons, labels and electoral habits, new divisions elbow their way, and we can only dimly perceive their future shapes. They still wait for the discovery of their native tongues; all strong social shocks, of whatever origin, are likely to bring them closer to the surface. (Whether or not they will make the world a better place to live in, no one knows. Perhaps.)

In Poland itself, the situation is bound to remain ambiguous and shaky for a long time (unless the country is liberated by Soviet tanks that is). The party leadership is not only torn under by internal squabbles as they try to appease both Moscow and Polish society, thus looking for an impossible language that would make wolf and lamb happy. Solidarity has established itself against the resistance of the ruling apparatus, and yet it cannot wish this apparatus to fall apart or to be forced into complete paralysis. One thing that is clear, however, is that those forces in the party, army and police machinery which rightly fear that minimal social control might deprive them of their privileges are ready, if necessary, to beg the Soviets for help; their resources are impossible to calculate but are certainly greater than their numerical strength. One may reasonably hope that they will fail, as they have so far. If so, Poland will remain, for a time, a mutant, the unique specimen of a new species — the future evolution of which we can only speculate.

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BOOKS

Welfare law

Social Welfare Law
by David Pearl and Kevin Gray
Croom Helm, £14.95 and £8.95
ISBN 0 85664 644 X and 7099 2004 0

In recent years it has been recognized that the study of law has an important place in the education of social workers. Its significance is threefold. First, social workers must have a sound knowledge of the legal framework in which they operate professionally; at present this involves study of the Child Care Act 1980, the Children and Young Persons Act 1969, the law of adoption and mental health legislation. Secondly, in order to assist clients, it is desirable that social workers should at least be aware of their clients' legal rights in such fields as social security, housing and family law. Thirdly, an examination of recent legal developments, for instance the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and the Race Relations Act 1976, can illustrate to social workers the difficulties of implementing desired social policies.

This new book, aimed at law students as well as students undertaking professional training in the social services, examines claims to security in four areas where the law has taken a protective role - the family, income support, employment and housing. Although the authors recognize that the chapter on the protection of children "is perhaps the most important in this book", the account of the Child Care Act 1980 and the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 is quite inadequate for social workers let alone lawyers. Time and again difficult points are elided and too often the writers resort to that all too easy panacea, the hope of reforming legislation. The discussion of adoption is also oversimplified. The absence of any detailed treatment of case law suggests that the authors underestimate the ability of social work students to handle legal materials.

On the other hand, the chapters on contributory and non-contributory social security benefits provide accurate and up-to-date accounts of a difficult subject. It would, however, have been useful if the writers had provided examples to illustrate the operation of the often complex rules involved. For example, in the chapter on unemployment benefit, an example should have been given to show how the "contribution conditions" operate; a description of the disqualifications from benefit, probably because the authors regard them as too harsh. The chapter on the Rent Act is also very good, taking into account the important changes wrought by the Housing Act 1980. However, the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977 merits much fuller treatment, since it provides an excellent example of the problems encountered when implementing desirable social policies.

These chapters then will be most useful to social workers advising clients. That cannot be said of the section on individual employment law where too much has been attempted. The result is a skeletal account of the common law of master and servant and an oversimplified and dull outline of unfair dismissal and redundancy law. Since an employee will *prima facie* look to his trade union official rather than a social worker for advice on these matters, the importance of labour law lies in the examples it provides of the difficulties of implementing social policy. Also, it is these topics - equal pay, sex and race discrimination in employment - which the authors fail to discuss in any depth.

While no one would wish to discourage academic lawyers from writing on such an important subject as social welfare law, this book disappoints because of its limited value to those of us who teach social work students.

J. M. Thomson

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The proper study of mankind

The Voice and the Eye: an analysis of social movements
by Alain Touraine
translated by Alan Duff
Cambridge University Press, £15.50 and £5.95
ISBN 0 521 23874 9 and 28271 3

At a time when intellectual thought in sociology is increasingly mesmerized by the economic laws of world capitalism and the mechanistic structural determinants of social systems, this excellent book is refreshing in its powerful reassertion of the importance of the study of "society" - the central concept of sociology.

Society represents social relations and social action, through which it is produced and reproduced, and through which people make their own history. Touraine persuasively shows that without the analysis of society as social action we are left with a dismal social science in which the development of human society is determined by mechanistic and impersonal laws of history, economics, social systems and evolution.

The analysis of social movements is not for Touraine a specialized branch of sociology, but rather its central endeavour: for it is the collective action of social movements that produces social change and reproduces society. By social movements, Touraine does not mean concrete organizations (this, he argues, would reduce the analysis to that of political and military strategies

and institutions) but the forces of conflicting social groups or social classes. It is through social movements that ordinary people - not merely the elites - influence the course of history.

Now there is nothing new about this theoretical approach: it is rather a restatement of the central principles of sociology in the light of patterns of social thought and social change in the spirit of classical sociology, especially the work of Emile Durkheim, in its portrayal of the distinctly social dynamic of society, and its concern both for knowledge and social development. At the same time outdated conceptions of social class and the state are discarded. Drawing on some of the major twentieth-century contributions to sociology, including his own earlier analysis of post-industrial societies, Touraine is able to convey a real sense of the development of sociology. A major achievement here is that the framework presented is fully comparative on a world scale: previous discussions of "post-industrial society" have tended to ignore the non-industrial and industrializing world.

But this is not just a book of theory. The second, shorter, part outlines "intervention" as a method of studying social movements, and this is a substantially new contribution. By this method movements are studied through meetings, arranged by the researchers, with groups of militants. Sociological analysis proceeds through dialogue between militants and sociologists, the confrontation of mili-



Alain Touraine

itants with spokesmen of their adversaries, and the encouragement of militants to develop their own self-analysis. Touraine carefully describes the distinctive and somewhat precarious role of the researcher. The researcher is not an activist or supporter of the movement, nor is the method a device for teaching militants to do their own sociology. Adherents to a social movement are necessarily adherents to particular ideologies: sociologists, on the other hand, should not be ideologists. But, as Touraine very

reasonably argues, just as economists can provide knowledge for those engaged in economic action, so on sociology provide useful knowledge for those engaged in social action.

The method of intervention seems open to a number of doubts and limitations, and the author's anticipation of these, while helpful, is not always altogether reassuring. The possibility that he raises that the method might only reach weak social movements of secondary importance seems very real. It is one thing to employ the method on French student movements, which have been done, but quite another to use it on Latin American peasant movements or South African nationalists. What is most impressive about the method is its consistency, a design and construction, with a theoretical approach. It fits very well with the conception of social movements as social forces engaged in conflict rather than as concrete organizations.

There is so much in this book - like barely mentioned the important contributions on the state and social classes - that it is difficult to do justice to it in a short review. It is not mere book to read, a reflection of the complexity of the subject matter, but the effort is well rewarded. If sociologists can afford to ignore it.

David Berry

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Public spending

The Political Economy of Social Policy
by A.J. Culyer
Martin Robertson, £18.00 and £7.50
ISBN 0 85520 369 2 and 370 6

Despite its rather fashionable, albeit classical title, this is essentially a revised and expanded version of Culyer's *The Economics of Social Policy* (1973), which has been a useful text for many undergraduate students of social policy.

This new version is much improved in several respects, being fuller and better organized than its predecessor. It is a clear statement of the application of traditional economic analysis to the social services. It stands firmly on the principle of Pareto optimality and the clear differentiation of positive from normative economics. It is what we have come to expect, and respect, from the York school of economists.

The author does not attempt to deal with macroeconomic questions - the use of social service spending as an economic regulator, or the impact of public expenditure on the wider economy. Nor are we asked to pursue the question of taxation and disincentives or the institutional means of taxation in any detail. This is, then, not a public finance text as such, quite reasonably, it does not stray into that preserve. It does not do more than allude to the growing public choice literature from the United States which seeks to explain the activities of public bureaucracies in terms of the self-interested actions of their employees.

Culyer begins with a chapter that introduces the reader to most of the key concepts in the economics of social policy, optimality and externality, the free-rider problem and human capital. But he tries to do too much, at one point discussing the trade-offs between equity and efficiency, different conceptions of social justice, altruism, the distinction between demand and need, and offering a critique of traditional notions of need, all in the space of ten pages. The result is unsatisfactory and unless the reader is familiar with these topics, some of the thoughtful points Culyer makes will be lost on him.

The second part of the book on redistribution is more useful. Starting with a clear distinction between positive and normative theories of redistribution, which includes theories of voting behaviour, he goes on to a critical account of the measures of distribution and some applications. He takes three examples of the redistributive effects of social policy - health and education spending, and then the overall effects of taxes and benefits. Here he might have been more critical of the basic approach used in the regular Central Statistical Office surveys. In his discussion of the economic causes of poverty, Culyer is critical of Townsend's measure of "relative poverty".

The section which deals with particular services and the rationale for state involvement is prefaced by an extended discussion of externalities which goes well beyond anything in the previous version of the book. The chapter on health is, as one would expect, an excellent summary of the key arguments. The chapters on housing and education finance are less good, but they do nicely illustrate the concepts with which the book began. Culyer concludes by presenting several ways of appraising social policies and approaching social planning. This section gives the reader some indication of what can be done with, for example, output budgeting but it describes only a very limited range of techniques, with a few of the practical problems.

This is a book for economists and students interested in applying economics to social policy, or for the social policy student at home with economic, useful as a guide to the conceptual tools available. For a more "radical" kit they may look elsewhere.

Howard Glennerster

Howard Glennerster is reader in social administration at the London School of Economics.

Philip G. Cerny and Martin A. Schain's *French Politics and Public Policy*, which was reviewed in *THE* May 8, is available in a paperback edition from Methuen, priced £4.50 (ISBN 0 416 30850 3).

Social indicators

Social Measurement and Social Indicators: issues of policy and theory
by Michael Carley
Allen & Unwin, £12.95 and £5.95
ISBN 0 04 310009 0 and 310010 4

Official statistics always tell you more about the organization that produced them than about the phenomenon in question, be it suicide, unemployment or moon biting dogs.

Michael Carley, who works at the Policy Studies Institute, will no doubt be irritated by this opening observation, for he largely ignores the now very familiar critique of official statistics that lends away from the original object of interest, (say urban deprivation) to use one of Carley's own examples) toward the social production of data about that phenomenon. His book, the first in a new series called "Contemporary Social Research", brooks as one would expect, an excellent summary of the key arguments. The chapters on housing and education finance are less good, but they do nicely illustrate the concepts with which the book began. Culyer concludes by presenting several ways of appraising social policies and approaching social planning. This section gives the reader some indication of what can be done with, for example, output budgeting but it describes only a very limited range of techniques, with a few of the practical problems.

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Carley summarizes clearly the literature on what is called "the social indicator movement", and outlines its double ambition to contribute to social knowledge and to provide useful information for public sector decision-making. He is a reliable guide to this very diverse field. British readers will gain from his use of American material. I hope his American readers will also notice that at least until the present Government we were not too backward in this field. He assesses the strengths and weaknesses of "macro", or national level indicators, as well as "micro", or local or programme indicators, with regional indicators somewhere in between. So we have good discus-

sion of such things as unemployment rates and time-based micro indicators of inflation, and retail price index. Carley does want to insist that social indicators must be located within an explicit theoretical framework; there is a useful chapter on this, and, most importantly, in another chapter that social indicators' ultimate purpose must be to enlighten the policy-making process. On national social reports, Carley describes the current state of the art and that chapter neatly contrasts with his detailed examination of urban social indicators. He concludes judiciously and cautiously but stops well within his own political and methodological assumptions.

Although Carley is not avoiding the issues he certainly does not critically confront his assumptions. I do not share the author's and editor's optimism that the state will increasingly look to social indicators to provide it with so-called social indicators, regular, concise and comparable statistical summaries of the state of society, in fields as diverse as health, education, crime or job satisfaction.

For the great irony is that if state is busily dismantling its data-producing organizations, which means that though this text is timely there simply won't be a sign of the much more vocational times in British social science that this book will be read, noticed and recommended.

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Colin Bell

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Labour's grass-roots

Colne Valley - Radicalism to Socialism: the portrait of a Northern constituency in the formative years of the Labour Party 1890-1910
by David Clark
Longman, £12.00
ISBN 0 582 50293 4

The Colne Valley constituency covers a broad tract of the Pennines between Oldham and Huddersfield, including within its boundaries a large number of small industrial towns as well as much typical moorland scenery with farms and villages clustering in the valleys.

Neither completely rural nor urban, this rambling constituency has a number of claims to attention: the Colne Valley Labour Party is one of the oldest in the country and possesses an almost complete set of records from its formation in 1891 to the present day; in addition, the seat has been contested by a number of figures of national repute, including Tom Mann, Victor Gollancz, and Philip Snowden. Dr David Clark, a former lecturer in politics, who held the seat for Labour between 1970 and 1974 and is currently MP for South Shields, has now produced a history of the Colne Valley constituency during the early years of the emergence of the Labour Party.

The study goes some way towards filling an important gap in our knowledge of the origins of the Labour Party and the decline of the Liberals. A number of regional studies have served to indicate the sheer complexity of the electoral situation in the generation prior to the Great War with champions both of the "new liberalism" and of "the inexorable rise of Labour" each able to find evidence from different parts of the country to support their case. Dr Clark's history of Colne Valley politics in this period is the first

full-length study of any single constituency and, although it is clearly far from being typical even of other northern industrial areas, it does provide important evidence for the development of the Labour Party at the grass-roots level.

Clark demonstrates, for example, that the origins of the Labour Party in this area at least, is not trade unionism. Indeed, the area had a reputation for being a trade union "desert", failing to respond significantly to the efforts of Tom Mann, one of the leaders of the famous dock strike of 1889, to raise the level of trade union activity. Rather the party owed its formation to a working-class radicalism, more cultural than trade unionist, which arose from the spread of socialist ideas and the traditional Nonconformity of the area, and which could find little opportunity for expression through the medium of the local Liberal Party. The election of Victor Gollancz as Independent and Socialist MP in 1907 was testimony both to the almost missionary fervour of early socialism and to the inflexibility of the local Liberals.

This is an interesting and important story, told here both with an awareness of the larger context but also with a wealth of local knowledge. The book is attractively produced with some useful maps and excellent photographs. The fragmentation of the text into too many sub-headings and the sometimes leaden prose betray its origins as a thesis, but these defects detract only marginally from a local political study of considerable interest and value.

John Stevenson

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A doctor in the House

The Commons in Perspective
by Philip Norton
Martin Robertson, £15.00 and £4.95
ISBN 0 85520 335 8 and 334 X

Considering how central the House of Commons is to politics in Britain it is remarkable how few general up-to-date books there are about it. This new study of the House is not only a well-written, comprehensive text to put in the hands of students but also a description of the House of Commons as it is today - a House much changed both in structures and behaviour from even a few years ago. In particular the range and importance of the new system of select committees, together with the greater willingness of MPs to vote against their party line, are creating a House of Commons which is beginning to look rather different from that pictured in much of the literature on the subject.

As one might expect from an author who has specialized in party dissent in the House, one of the strengths of the volume is the emphasis on party. Throughout Dr Norton is concerned to indicate its central role in the life of the Commons; this book is not only a history of the Commons in reality and also provides a clear theme to the work. After sketching briefly the transformation of the House in the nineteenth century, Dr Norton examines the role of party there in the present century.

His description of the functions which the House performs, and in particular its attempt to exercise scrutiny and influence over both the legislative process and executive actions, is excellent. These chapters are the core of the book and will provide readers with plenty of examples drawn from the politics of the past few years - especially useful for those students disinclined to believe any information until they read it in a book.

R. L. Borthwick

Dr Borthwick is lecturer in politics at the University of Leicester.

BOOKS

Protestant party politics

Democracy and Sectarianism: a political and social history of Liverpool
by P. J. Waller
Liverpool University Press, £24.00
ISBN 0 85323 074 9

The massive influx of Irish Roman Catholics into Liverpool in the nineteenth century constituted an unwanted burden which the city assumed with reluctance and resentment. Perhaps it is not surprising that Liverpoolians, as Mr Waller notes, "gained a reputation for their predatory and vicious reception of immigrants".

The consequent sectarian animosity at all levels of society in Liverpool is one theme of his book. The counterpart of a modern form of democratic politics, Liverpool was a busy commercial city with a vast working-class population who dominated the electorate by the mid-1880s.

These might be supposed the preconditions for the success of political radicalism, as embodied first by the Liberal party and later by Labour. In fact, in Liverpool the Conservatives moved to an easy ascendancy, establishing as strong a foothold in the deprived inner city areas as in the suburban divisions. They virtually monopolized the representation of the city from 1885 to 1906. They were barely shaken by the Liberal revival of the Edwardian period. After the First World War, Liverpool continued to resist the inroads of the Labour party until 1945, and it was only in 1964 that the Conservatives were finally dislodged from their predominance.

This is the puzzle to which Mr Waller has attempted his formidable labours. This is a fat, closely printed book, with 350 pages of text, buttressed by over 3000 densely consolidated footnotes, as well as 40 pages of biographical notes, 13 of bibliography and 23 of indexes. It gives a comprehensive history of the development of Liverpool politics, at both parliamentary and municipal levels, from the 1850s to 1914, with outlying chapters on 1868-84 and (more lengthily) on the period since the First World War. This account has been assembled with insatiable

attention to detail and is retailed with an unrelenting zest. The author speaks of his "prison-house labours on this book" and has obviously moved beyond pity for the sort of reader who will not cheerfully buckle down to sewing his daily quota of mailbags. This, it can safely be said, is everything one ever wanted to know about Liverpool politics: in fact, rather more than everything.

Dismissing the bones of the analysis, one can appreciate more clearly than hitherto the peculiar nature of Liverpool's history. Its association with the slogan "Tory democracy" in the 1880s was largely an accident, stemming from some loose remarks by Arthur Forwood, the city's Conservative leader. As he later explained: "If this term means that I have a firm reliance upon and belief in the Conservative instincts of the people, then I am a democratic Tory." In short, the slogan merely indicated the Tories' willingness to reap their natural advantages in a place like Liverpool; it had little relevance as a possible party strategy elsewhere in industrial Britain. On its home ground Tory democracy was a winner in enlisting the combative instincts of the Protestant working class, especially after the Liberals' openly expressed Irish Home Rule.

In Liverpool there could only be one answer to that: "No Surrender". Lord Derby put his finger on the nub when he commented that "whoever wins (by the necessary sacrifice) the Irish vote will lose the English vote." The politics of Protestantism were sustained by the Conservatives' deftness in fostering the community values of working-class Liverpoolians. And that often meant drink. Liverpool, complained one Liberal, worshipped Beer as Ephesus worshipped Diana. There was thus singular appropriateness in the rise of Archibald Salvidge, a brewery manager, as Forwood's effective successor in control of the Conservative machine.

Salvidge's power base was the Conservative Working Men's Association - a tightly centralized organization under his personal direction. Lloyd George once called him "the nearest to a Tammany boss that we have in this country".

Wise's potential as a troublemaker was vividly illustrated in the riots of 1909 which brought Liverpool to the edge of civil war. It took the Kaiser's War, with its decisive blow to all organized religion, before the power of Protestantism went into decline. Labour, conversely, had to slough off the skin of a Catholic party before it could come into its own. Liverpool ended up politically looking rather like Manchester; what this book gives us is a picture of it looking all too much like Belfast.

Peter Clarke

Peter Clarke is a fellow of St John's College, Cambridge.

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BOOKS

Freud as protagonist

Freud: a collection of critical essays edited by Perry Meisel
Prentice-Hall, £9.95 and £3.85
ISBN 0 13 331405 7 and 331397 2

Perry Meisel claims that his book is an attempt to cast Freud "both as a theoretician of literature and a practitioner of it in exact and specific ways". Happily, this goal is only partly realized, or we would have had a dull and limited volume indeed.

What we have instead is a lively and provocative assembly of essays spanning both the vexatious history of the mutual interventions in one another's territories of psychoanalysis and literary criticism, and some of the best assessments, mostly from Anglo-Saxon sources and by literary critics, which that interaction has stimulated.

So the first inclusion is Leonard Woolf's review of *The Psychoanalysis of Everyday Life* (1914) and the last Harold Bloom's *Freud and the Poetic Sublime* (1978). In between we are given, perhaps somewhat redundantly, considering their easy availability elsewhere, reprints of Trilling's sharp evaluation in *The Liberal Imagination*, Stanley Edgar Hyman's chapter on *The Interpretation of Dreams* from *The Tangled Bank*, and Steven Marcus's "Freud and Dora: story, history, case history", still available in his *Representations: essays on literature and society* (1975). Also included are Thomas Mann's 1937 tribute to Freud on his eightieth birthday ("Freud and the Future"), W. H. Auden's "Psychology and Art Today" (1935), and essays by Kenneth Burke, Alfred Kazin, John Crowe Ransom, and Jacques Derrida.

Of all these contributions it is Trilling's seminal discussion which has best stood the test of time. "Freud and Literature" successfully identified both the strengths and weaknesses of the psychoanalytic approach to imaginative writing, not-

ing on the one hand its fatal tendency to over-exalt those literary works, like *Hamlet*, which exemplified the Freudian method, and on the other to view art contemptuously as "a substitute gratification... a narcotic". Yet, as Trilling observes, "Freud's assumption of the almost exclusively hedonistic nature and purpose of art bars him from the perception that" - he quotes Jacques Barzun - "the work of art leads us back to the outer reality by taking account of it." Putting it another way: "the poet is in command of his fantasy, while it is exactly the mark of the neurotic that he is possessed by his fantasy."

Trilling's essay also turns out to have been, among other things, a remarkable anticipation of the direction taken by more recent Freudian critics, especially the Yale school. When we bring together his observation that "There is no single meaning to any work of art... In short, the audience partly determines the meaning of the work", with his acute perception that psychoanalysis is "a science of tropes, of metaphor and its variants, synecdoche and metonymy", he is seen to have come astonishingly close to the contemporary formulations of Professors Bloom, Derrida, Hartman, et al. If we add in Steven Marcus's startling gloss that for Freud "The patient does not merely provide the text; he also is the text, the writing to be read, the language to be interpreted", we have before us some of the most interesting propositions at the heart of Yale Deconstructionism.

The other major focus of this collection is on Freud as a literary figure in his own right - the culmination of Austrian literature" as Zweig expressed it in 1934. He is in these essays variously compared to, among others, Proust, Mann, Joyce, Ibsen, Coleridge, Kafka, Borges and even Nabokov, viewed as a novelist, a writer of detective fiction and a dramatist, and - prodigiously - as either the last of the Romantics or the first

of the Modernists. One can only observe of all this that he is sufficiently complex and great a writer to give each critic the image for which he seeks.

Nevertheless, this is not to dismiss the possibilities of treating Freud as literature. Here the pivotal discussion must be Steven Marcus's reading of "Dora" as "a classical Victorian melodrama... rather like a play by Ibsen", with Freud himself, literally in the final analysis, as "the central character in the action". This conclusion is strikingly similar to Hyman's brilliantly argued perception that it was the author himself who was, in reality, the hero of *The Interpretation of Dreams*. In Hyman's words, the book is "a relentless and unsparring *Confessions*, and its powerful self-revelation underlies its greatness." Insights such as these are among the best that critics can bring to psychoanalysis.

The insights that psychoanalysis can bring to criticism, at least on the evidence collected here, are few indeed. Almost nowhere is there any attempt to tackle actual literature with Freud's conceptual tools, and where such an enterprise has been undertaken - as Ernest Jones did with *Hamlet* - the critic (Trilling in this instance) exposes the limitations. Only twice in the whole collection does anyone even try. Kenneth Burke gives us a page (although a good one) on "The Ancient Mariner", and Bloom, in a useful discussion of Freud's aesthetics, observes interestingly that *Paradise Lost* is "the most Freudian text ever written". What he seems to mean by this hyperbole is that the structure of Milton's epic corresponds suggestively to Freud's triadic id-superego, with Satan, Man and God playing the appropriate symbolic roles.

Michael Egan

Michael Egan is professor of English at the University of Massachusetts.



"Widow Wadman and my Uncle Toby", a painting by C. R. Leake first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1831 accompanied by a quotation from Tristram Shandy from which it derives its subject. It is reproduced in *Mourning* by Nicholas Watler, one of a new series of publications from the Victoria and Albert Museum and "The Arts and Living" in which items from the museum are considered not as but as artefactual evidence for social history. Other volumes in the series: *Getting Dressed* by Edward T. Joy, *Writing* by Leonie Ormond, and *Old Bed* by Eileen Harris. Published by HMSO Books, each volume is priced £1.50.

A mood of gently restrained lyricism

A Short History of English Poetry by G.S. Fraser
Open Books, £12.00 and £5.95
ISBN 0 7291 0077 4 and 0072 3

Poems of G.S. Fraser
edited by Ian Fletcher and John Lucas
Leicester University Press, £7.50
ISBN 0 7185 1214 6

George Fraser was a good poet and a fine critic. His survey of modern English literature, *The Modern Writer and his World*, was a lucid, thoughtful and genuinely helpful critical account which has been of especial help to foreign students. *A Short History of English Poetry*, the publisher's note tells us, was "in the final stages of completion" at the time of Fraser's death and gratitude is expressed to ten different people for help in preparing the manuscript. It seems clear to me that Fraser left the work in a pretty sketchy state. It has significant errors, omissions and repetitions that ten helpers might be expected to have attended to and, further, its alternation between slack personal chat and rigorous critical analysis, while sometimes engaging, can be irritating and frustrating.

Verse drama is omitted altogether, and while it is conceded that Shakespeare is "our greatest poet" there is no discussion of his poetry, apparently on the odd grounds (mentioned twice in two different parts of the book) that the language of the "bloody sergeant" episode in *Macbeth* is rhetorical rather than poetic. There is no discussion of Shakespeare's

sonnets and indeed, except for a reference to one sonnet by Sidney, no mention of the Elizabethan and early Jacobean sonnet at all. Henry Vaughan gets ten lines; Edmund Spenser has four times the space. Marvell gets less than three pages while Shelley gets seven. There are apologies for shortage of space yet room is found for a discussion of the first Mrs T.S. Eliot's sex life.

Sometimes Fraser draws on recent scholarship and criticism and sometimes he perpetuates long exploded errors of fact. The student who looks for a coherent account of movements and tendencies and modes of writing will find that, in spite of traditional sub-headings such as "The School of Donne" and "The Sons of Ben" and less traditional ones such as "Places and Periods" and "Distinction and Possible Greatness" (put in, surely, by another hand), there is no clarity of line in the expository narrative and the actual history is blurred.

In short, this book is a bit of a puzzle. In discussing Robert Herrick, Fraser remarks in an aside that "Thomas Campion was 'a greater poet'". But Herrick is discussed and Campion is not. Is this book an incomplete set of lecture notes? But then why should there be so many errors? There is a reference to Byron's "famous blunder" in the words "There let him lay" as occurring in the poem "The Dying Gladiator" which in fact is not a poem at all but some stanzas in *Canterbury Tales* of "Childe Harold" and in any case these lines do not appear there but in another section of that canto, the address to the ocean. The account of the origins of Pope's "Rape of the Lock" that

does not mention the poem, so that the reader with no previous acquaintance with the facts will have no idea what poem is being discussed, suggests a lecture note intended to be filled out by the student, but that cannot be the explanation of errors in names of people and places. Sometimes the book reads like a transcript of a series of impromptu talks, which would explain the bursts of chattiness (Muscolonghi, where Byron died, is "still one of the most unattractive little towns in Greece"), rather than the result of a considered attempt to write a history of English poetry in reasonable compass.

The book has some good things - perceptions, observations, comparisons - which are particularly interesting in the section on twentieth-century poetry. True, Fraser tries hard to devalue Wilfred Owen and has what seems to me a perversely denigrating account of his finest poem, but on the whole the originality and freshness of personal judgment makes for genuinely rewarding criticism. No critic as informed and sensitive as Fraser could have written a history of English poetry lacking in interest and perceptiveness. But this uneven and slackly written book does not do justice to his very real critical abilities.

If this book does not show Fraser at his critical best, the new collection of his poems certainly does him justice as a poet, presenting a body of poetry that shows Fraser's skill, versatility, freedom from constricting fashions, and what one might call his centrality as a poet of our time. True, there are echoes of Yeats, Eliot and

Auden, among others, especially in the earlier poems, but the general impression is that of an assured poet for whom verse was a natural idiom. In a sense the whole of this book is greater than the sum of its parts: though there are phrases and stanzas that remain in the memory there are no single poems that strike one immediately as likely to be permanently haunting. But reading through all the poems in this book provides an encounter with a genuine poet who reveals in his poetry, both directly and indirectly, a wholly persuasive sensibility and personality.

There is a fascination with the craft of verse that reveals itself in metrical variety and experiment and in some accomplished translations. At the same time in much of this poetry there is a strong autobiographical element. The helpful introduction gives enough information to enable the reader to trace the biographical thread in the poems - the early years in Aberdeen, University of St Andrews, Cairo in the war, the poetic salon in Chelsea, cultural missionary work in Japan, teaching at Leicester University: each phase of Fraser's life has yielded its own poetic response to experience, and the last phase an unexpectedly rich one.

"Poetic response to experience" is the phrase which, for all Fraser's concern with objective craftsmanship, seems most accurately to describe the bulk of Fraser's poetic output. He himself once wrote to me, some twenty years ago, that his poetic aim was to "explore personal and local themes in a mood of gently restrained lyricism". His poetry does this and more, for it

contains a "metaphysical" element that gives a certain intellectual strenuousness to the poetic discourse. This sometimes manifests itself in too abstract a vocabulary (if, for example, we compare "Autumnal Elegy" with MacLennan's "Autumnal Journal" we can see how less concrete Fraser's language is: "the bland debility of memory", "poised on the downward slope of hesitation", "dull as a woman's explored addiction"). Fraser is able of deliberately lowering his poetic register, as in "The Legend of the Hero", a poem in little more than verse that is larded with generalizations and abstract nouns. At other times, as in earlier poems such as "Audenesque" and "The End of a Day" or the highly individual "Widow Wadman" and "In later years" such as the simply moving poem "Paddy" for her sixtieth birthday, the craft and the personal are beautifully integrated.

George Fraser was more than a poet and a critic. He was in himself a centre for poetry, a man for whom poetry was in other people's hands as much as in his own. His death in January 1980 was a loss to the life of literature in Britain. As long as anyone who will remember his talk, and his poems, as well as for what he wrote.

David Dalch

David Dalch is emeritus professor of English at the University of Essex.

Ancient unbelief

The Alternative Tradition
by James Thrower
Mouton, £15.95
ISBN 90 279 7997 9

The religious tradition still dominates the history of thought, and it is both ironic and significant that one of the few scholars studying the alternative non-religious tradition should be a lecturer in the history and phenomenology of religion. Ten years ago James Thrower produced *A Short History of Western Atheism*, which covers more than just atheism, but which is really very short and also rather narrow. During the subsequent decade he has expanded both his subject matter and his scope, and now he has produced the first instalment of a much larger project.

The Alternative Tradition is a misleading title, however, and to know what the book is about one must go to the sub-title - "a study of unbelief in the ancient world" (according to the jacket) or "religion and the rejection of religion in the ancient world" (according to the title-page). It is in fact a survey of non-religious and anti-religious ideas before the triumph of Christianity not only in Europe and the Middle East but also in China and India.

The introductory chapter sets the scene clearly but rather clumsily, with too much reference to secondary sources. The chapter on India shows how even the most strongly religious culture may have room for other elements. Thrower quotes several sections of the Vedas and later orthodox writings which are agnostic or even atheistic about the Hindu pantheon, and gives fair accounts of similar tendencies in the religious systems of Jainism and Buddhism and the philosophical schools of Samkhya and Vaisheshika. But the sceptical climax came in the Lokayata tradition,

associated with the legendary figure of Carvaka, which more than 2,000 years ago gave a strong dose of materialism, secularism and hedonism to Indian thought. Here Thrower could have made more of recent interest by Indian freethinkers in their ancient predecessors. The chapter on China similarly refers to the numerous non-religious elements in early Confucianism and Taoism, in some later thinkers, and above all in the work of Wang Chung, who 2,000 years ago expressed the naturalism and humanism latent in so much Chinese thought. Here Thrower makes use of the work of Joseph Needham to trace the sceptical tradition much further, as far as our eighteenth century.

The chapters on ancient Greece and Rome, a revised and expanded version of the relevant sections of Thrower's previous book, cover this more familiar ground well enough, though most of the secondary material could have been sacrificed to make room for more primary material from the Ionians and Sophists, the Epicureans and Sceptics, and their various followers in Rome. An appendix awkwardly covers Israel, Babylon and Egypt, which would have fitted better in the reverse order before Greece and Rome to show the early development of non-religious thought in our own civilization.

This book should be the first of several volumes, sequels covering the sceptical tradition in Christianity and Islam and in the modern world. It has defects, but its great value is to bring together the many strands which make up what Thrower calls "the beginnings of the growth of a consistently held naturalistic view of the world" and to bring out just how widely such a view was held so long ago.

Nicolas Watler

Nicolas Watler is editor of the "New Humanist" Magazine.

Roman love poetry

The Latin Love Poets from Catullus to Horace
by R. O. A. M. Lyne
Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, £12.50 and £5.25
ISBN 0 19 814453 9 and 814454 7

For the Greeks *elegia* were poems in the elegiac metre, which consists of a hexameter and pentameter. The themes were very varied: politics (Solon, Theognis), marital exhortations (Callinus, Tyrtaeus), worldly wisdom with a touch of pessimistic hedonism (Mimnermus). The late epic poet Antimachus (about 400 BC) was the model of the elegiac love poetry of the Alexandrians.

The poets of Augustan Rome centred their writing of elegy on private life (*otium*) with its individual experiences. They took over many themes from the Greeks - for example, the contrast of death and love, of the sorrows and joys of life, and also the heroic love story as a reflection of personal experience. But Roman elegy cannot be seen simply as a copy or continuation of the Greek: its main thrust is more subjective, and nothing really comparable is found in the surviving Greek elegies.

Unlike most scholars in this field, Dr Lyne bypasses this issue and goes straight to Catullus, the first ancient poet to treat a love-affair in depth, focusing his work on one figure, his Lesbia. In this he set a fashion. Propertius wrote about Cynthia, Tibullus about Delia and Ovid about Corinna. Before them we know that Varro of Atax wrote about a lady called Leucadia and Cornelius Gallus about his Lycoris, but Varro's love poetry is utterly lost, while Gallus's hitherto one surviving line was supplemented in 1978 by the discovery in Egypt of a scrap of papyrus (published too late for Lyne to refer to it) with two brief non-amatory epigrams but luckily also carrying the name of Gallus's beloved. After Catullus the real end of the literary, imitative and life became intertwined in the Roman love elegies.

This is personal poetry and Lyne expects to find in it a poet's ideas, feelings - and personality. Greek influence is mentioned where it seems appropriate, but inherited form was less important than self-expression to these poets who were ready to assume and change roles. Literary history and literary criticism are combined in the book. Two illuminating chapters on contemporary Roman *mores* set the whole discussion against the social and historical background. Interesting use is made of inscriptional evidence from tombstones which indicates a connection with actuality in some of Horace's references: his Lyde, Lalage, Glycera and others bore names which female "entertainers" in Roman society might plausibly have borne. Love and marriage didn't necessarily go together for upper class Romans, and volunteer aristocratic ladies not infrequently augmented the efforts of the *demi-monde*. Catullus, Lyne convincingly argues, saw his relationship with Lesbia as based on a profound equality, sign of a "new erotic romanticism".

Dr Lyne well emphasizes in this sound study the wit, humour and irony of Propertius, the subtle, chameleon-like quality of Tibullus, the discreet, courtly, even philosophical promiscuity of Horace, and the sparklingness of Ovid, for whom love was a game calling for inventive variations. I wonder whether he considered including within his ambit the six brief but heartfelt and passionate elegiac poems which a young woman in Augustan Rome, Sulpicia, wrote to her lover Corinthus - specimens of Latin love poetry carved without doubt from the living rock of experience. In this feminist age "general readers" would surely be glad to have the only surviving poetess of classical Rome brought to their attention.

H. MacL. Currie

H. MacL. Currie is head of the department of humanities at Teesside Polytechnic.

Brutus

The Noblest Roman: Marcus Brutus
and his reputation
by M. L. Clarke
Thames & Hudson, £10.00
ISBN 0 500 40040 7

Brutus is one of those historical figures who have achieved a fame in literature which far exceeds their importance in their own lifetime. His posthumous history has developed on two distinct levels, as a symbolic figure in the annals of tyrannicide, and as a tragic hero imaginatively portrayed by Plutarch, Shakespeare and a host of later and lesser writers.

It is not surprising that rather more than half of Professor Clarke's lively and scholarly book is devoted to Brutus's standing in the eyes of posterity. After sketching Brutus's performance in the traditional occupations of the young Roman aristocrat, as a budding politician, soldier and advocate, as a philosopher, and finally as leader of the Republican cause after Caesar's assassination, he goes on to discuss Brutus's actions and character in the eyes of historians, philosophers, theologians and classical scholars, finally examining his personality in the light of its depiction in literature.

Why is he described as "the noblest Roman"? First because his motives were undoubtedly the purest: his fellow-conspirators knew that they lacked moral authority and needed his. Secondly, because, unlike the great majority of tyrannicides, so far from detesting his victim, he had to overcome his attachment and sense of obligation to Caesar in order to act.

From a modern viewpoint it is Brutus's personal motives and circumstances which throw the most favourable light upon his action. In political terms his notions of liberty and justice are far removed from our own, and might roughly be equated with those of a Whig grandee. His ancestors on both sides had won fame through resisting one-man rule *à la* France. The ideal of freedom which he shared with his fellow-conspirators meant little more than a refusal to acknowledge any other man as master, and the moral authority which he undoubtedly exercised over them and no political initiative behind it. The truth was that the issue had been settled long before, and the fearful carnage of the civil wars between Sulla and Marius and subsequently Pompey and Caesar had taken place to decide not whether Romans should be free men, but which master they were willing to follow. When at length events forced Brutus to mobilize such support as he possessed, he was obliged to act as unconstitutionally as the Caesarians.

Professor Clarke's review of Brutus's reputation down the centuries makes excellent reading, and demonstrates among other things that Christianity has had a remarkable influence upon the European view of tyrannicide: thus the situation of a Protestant under a Catholic ruler (or vice versa) added a new dimension to the problem, and later, in the Age of Reason, we find that the Bourbon monarchs of France, however illiberal, could be regarded as legitimate rulers, to be distinguished from an upstart such as Caesar.

Among the dramatists who have handled the theme, Alfieri leads the pack, but Shakespeare still leaves the rest of the field out of sight. It is paradoxical to find that while others have striven to breathe life into the political issues at stake, Shakespeare who, as in *Coriolanus* concentrates his attention primarily upon the interplay of human motives, succeeds for all his lack of scholarship in bringing ancient Rome so brilliantly to life.

Ian Scott-Kilvert

Ian Scott-Kilvert was formerly director of literature at the British Council.

The style of Tacitus

Tacitus
by Ronald Martin
Batsford, £14.95
ISBN 0 7134 2772 1

Over the years Professor Martin has made a substantial and original contribution to our understanding of Tacitus, a tortuous (and perhaps troubled) historian who suffered but survived under Domitian (AD 81-96) and prospered but was disillusioned under Trajan and Hadrian. As senator, consul, and governor of Asia Minor Tacitus knew what politics was all about, and the deep doubts about human motives which colour all his work must have sprung from his early experiences. As is the case with so many classical authors of the greatest brilliance, such as Catullus, his work was only preserved by a single manuscript of the young *Annals* (which deals with the deeds of Augustus and his successors), of the *Agriicola*, a study of Tacitus's father-in-law, the great governor of Britain who carried Roman armies to the mouth of the Spey and not only circumnavigated the British Isles but put local government on a self-confident footing which was to last even beyond the recall of the legions in the fifth century.

Tacitus was not a cynical man but he had lived life and knew that political motives could be complex and corrupt. It is to this understanding of his writing that Sir Ronald Syme has made such a contribution. Professor Martin is less interested in that aspect of Tacitus's attitude to politics than in his technical achievement as a writer, analysing his work by its language, its genre and its presentation. His analysis of Tacitus's style starts from Cicero's three prescriptions for the ideal style of oratory - fullness of expression (*copiam verborum*), symmetry (*conveniens*), and a periodic sentence structure "in which an anticipated rounding off of the sentence duly occurs as the sentence closes". Whereas Livy, whose "milky fluency" was noted by Quintilian, fulfils Cicero's ideals, Tacitus rejects them in favour of a taut brevity, inherited from Sallust and, notoriously, likes asymmetry (for instance, "the words of Tiberius were few and in a modest tone", where one would

naturally expect another adjective to balance "few"). Martin gives numerous telling examples of this phenomenon. Thirdly - Tacitus likes to leave a sting in the tail. His sentences are not Ciceroian but often end in an appendix, which may spoil the syntax but engage the reader. The difference between Cicero and Tacitus is simply that Cicero thought of history as a branch of oratory, while Tacitus was concerned with the deeds and motives of men. His brilliant epigrams get to the heart of human frailty. Martin might have said more about the eclectic character of Tacitus's vocabulary. Only H. W. Benario's *Introduction to Tacitus* can rival it as a clear, authoritative, modern coverage of a remarkable historian, and it is a book that will be welcomed not just in academic establishments but by anyone who wishes to understand the past. As Gibbon wrote of Tacitus, "He may not have spoken the truth but his fantasies are often more interesting than the truth".

Nevertheless in such an admirable book I miss two things. Martin concerns himself primarily with the literary side (the chapters on the sources of the *Annals* and *Historiae* are particularly clear and original). But he does not give us the archaeological background, failing to explain, for example, how Britain was divided into administrative units, how the campaigns of Agricola culminated at Mons Graupius, the discovery of Varus's skeletons and the retreat across the marshes, the details of the campaigns in Germany and Rumania, the real facts about the Jews, all of which are touched on in Tacitus's writing. Secondly, politics is about power, and Roman politics were as nasty as Roman power. Tacitus knew this and was as much an accomplice in the atrocities of the late first century AD as anyone else. His style of writing, with its hints and innuendos, shows it but it never quite emerges in Martin's book. The real Tacitus, I believe, was not the clever writer but the devious politician.

R. M. Ogilvie

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Just Published by HMSO

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This volume brings together important new papers on the subject of the long-term fall in industrial profitability in the UK which were discussed at a seminar held in April 1980, attended by academics and representatives of industry, the Bank of England, the TUC and C.B.I. Specialist papers cover the influence of the tax system on the rate of return, the impact of cash flow on investment, and problems created by the behaviour of unions and successive governments. ISBN 0 11 512977 4 226 pages Paperback £4.95 ISBN 0 11 513251 1 Hardback £8.95

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BOOKS

The power of food

Food for War - Food for Peace: United States food aid in a global context by Mitchell B. Wallerstein MIT Press, £18.60 ISBN 0 262 23106 9

The story of food aid begins in the United States as a way of disposing of an embarrassing glut of cereal surpluses, while leaving intact the politically important farm subsidies which encouraged overproduction. Charitable perhaps, but chiefly an *ad hoc* dumping operation to keep US farmers wealthy. Not surprisingly the PL-480 legislation which formalized its existence was pushed through Congress by the farm and agribusiness lobbies.

Politicians took to food aid from the start: it is so useful to donor and recipient. Food surpluses are virtually a "free good" for donors but a politically powerful weapon. Recipient governments of food deficit nations have something which will save spending foreign exchange on food imports, and, since they are allowed - indeed, in the main obliged - to sell the food to their populace, they have a way of raising revenue.

And the poor, the hungry, the starving? They are just advertising symbols. Their place is on the advertising poster, not in the food market. Very little food aid reaches those at risk of malnutrition. Not much is intended to. Given the complex ecology of malnutrition even this dribble seems to do very little good, except in acute famines. It could help if used as one of a mix of tools to promote economic development. But if it's really to have an effect it needs to be given and received according to proper rules.

The story that Wallerstein sets down in this book is not about what use food aid might be to the

recipient. It is a dry, almost deadpan, account of what the major donor - the US Government - expects of its charity: a story of what that donor has received. To everyone except dedicated cynics or political psychopaths it is a shocking tale. Wallerstein recounts the story with little comment, and no editorializing. Yet this scholarly, neutral approach makes it clear that the giving or withholding of food aid has been related overwhelmingly to the wants of the donor, not the needs of the recipient. It has not been used to help people but to control puppets. The story of aid is one of Realpolitik, not morality, although when expediency has coincided with justice (and even when it hasn't), the political trumpeting about humanitarianism has been deafening.

The facts tell a different story, as the example of India makes clear. In 1943, when prodigious amounts of US food aid were flowing to Europe, none could be spared for Bengal where 3-4 million people were dying of famine. In 1945-46, US food aid was used to ensure that postwar Europe didn't go communist; the Indian food crisis at that time was ignored because India was not a priority anti-communist zone. In 1951 food aid was sent to the Indian famine; but it was sold, not given to the country, a strategy which succeeded in its intention of forcing the Indians to release their supplies of thorium for the US atomic weapons projects. The massive donations given in response to the 1964 food riots were not humanitarian, they were a CIA scheme to help the Congress Party win the election. And, in 1967, even that aid was placed on President Johnson's famous short tether; monthly supplies forthcoming only if Indian government policy met with US government approval.

Elsewhere too the keynote has been power not compassion. In 1973 at the start of the Sahelian famine and its millions of deaths, almost half of all US food aid went to Vietnam and Cambodia. There it was resold and paid for the war, circumventing congressional disapproval. In that same year, as famine swept sub-Saharan Africa, 18 million dollars' worth went to Portugal in exchange for base rights, 46 million dollars' worth to affluent Israel, not exactly a noted world centre of malnutrition, and a staggering 149 million dollars' worth to communist Korea. In 1974, 400,000 tons of cereals were given to Egypt and Syria helping to buy the Middle East truce and Kissinger's Peace Prize. Supplies reaching the Sahel were seriously reduced by this magnanimous gesture by Dr Kissinger.

These are not isolated tales. They are the warp and weft of this excellent book in which trade is a major index entry. It is of course a tale that could only be told about America. She is overwhelmingly the most important donor (60 per cent of all food aid is American, only 20 per cent coming from the EEC) and she had, until recently, a Freedom of Information Act that enabled Wallerstein to do his research.

The United States may give largely for the wrong reason and in the wrong direction, but, as Wallerstein notes, for all her faults there is a streak of altruism in her aid programmes. If that streak accounts for only ten per cent of their aid, that's still 2.5 times what the UK could manage even before Mrs Thatcher.

John Rivers

John Rivers is lecturer in nutrition at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

Gaps in the membrane story

Biological Membranes: their structure and function, second edition by Roger Harrison and George G. Lunt Blackie, £17.95 and £7.95 ISBN 0 216 993 98 8 and 97 X

The title and the preface of the second edition of Harrison and Lunt's book made it clear that they wish it to be used as a basic text on membranes by senior undergraduates and by postgraduates starting work on membranes. Although it will undoubtedly be very valuable to these groups and to their teachers, I find that the second edition keeps both the merits and limitations of the first. My most serious criticism is that although the book will provide a student with a very sound knowledge of the chemistry and organization of membranes it offers only an unbalanced view of their functions.

The first three chapters provide a brief introductory overview of the cell, the functions of membranes and of specialized membrane morphology. This is simple and is well illustrated with good electron micrographs. I am, however, worried by the fact that this includes special presentations on synapses, retinal rods and myelin, but almost ignores the ubiquitous Golgi complex. Next comes a brief and unsatisfactory treatment of the choice of membranes for study and of membrane isolation procedures. Here the analytical applications of subcellular fractionation are ignored, myelin again gets its own special subsection, and the section "Intracellular membranes" includes only a discussion of the separation of the two mitochondrial membranes.

The following two chapters, together with the final one on physical methods used for studying membranes, take the student through the evidence for our present view of the chemical constituents of membranes and of the structural organization of

the membranes into which they are built. These three chapters, which occupy almost two-fifths of the book, should leave the student with a sound and historically leavened appreciation of modern views on membrane structure. However, I consider it to be bad practice for the phospholipid components of membranes to be presented through diagrams of fully saturated diacyl molecules and by molecular models in which monoenoic fatty acid chains are depicted as two linear segments on either side of the angled cis double bond: both of these will tend to hinder a student's attempts to envisage the mixed liquid crystalline lipid phase of natural membranes.

An excellent and extensive chapter on carbohydrates in membranes reflects the authors' special knowledge of both the structure and function of membrane glycoproteins and glycolipids. This is especially welcome, as few good treatments of this rapidly growing area exist at a level accessible to students. The remaining quarter of the book consists of two chapters which present all membrane functions other than those served by glycosylated components - or at least those that the authors thought worthy of mention. First comes a straightforward and up-to-date account of membrane transport mechanisms that is slightly marred by a muddled account of the Donnan potential. The detailed and excellent account of the Na⁺/K⁺-ATPase would have been more easily understood if a simple diagram of its topology and/or reaction mechanism had been included.

The second of the chapters on function is an unsatisfactory portmanteau production entitled "Complex membrane-mediated processes" (aren't they all?). This runs, by a sort of free-association sequence, through energy transduction and ATP synthesis, bacteriorhodopsin, the retinal rod, synaptic transmission and nerve

conduction, the touch response of *Paramecium*, and finally hormone receptors and their mechanisms. Most of the morsels from which this chapter is assembled are tasty and well presented, but unfortunately they don't make a balanced meal. As a result, a student who has read this book will not realize that there are whole vistas of membrane function associated with secretion, endocytosis and membrane recycling that involve cooperative functioning of endoplasmic reticulum, Golgi membranes, coated vesicles and lysosomes; nor will he realize that the endoplasmic reticulum has any role in metabolizing foreign compounds. Moreover, this chapter includes some worrying errors and ambiguities.

Whether a student text encompassing membrane structure and function should include a discussion of the metabolic turnover of membranes, and of the mechanisms for their biosynthesis and degradation, is open to question; I would have thought that it should at least in so far as many parts of those processes are themselves achieved by membranes. The only appreciable mention of this subject made by Harrison and Lunt is a brief treatment of the biosynthesis of viral glycoproteins. An excellent general reference list, subdivided by chapters, is given at the end of the book. The references to the carbohydrate chapter are particularly comprehensive. There is a fair, but not detailed, index.

I cannot recommend adoption of this book as a central and comprehensive student text. It will, however, be invaluable to teachers who recommend it but who also retain a clear view of the gaps that remain to be filled by reference to other sources.

R. H. Michell

R. H. Michell is lecturer in biochemistry at the University of Birmingham.



Austen Henry Layard (1817-94), excavator of Nimrud, Kuyunjik and the young man in Bakhtiari costume. Taken from *A Short History of Asia* by Glyn Daniel, published this week by Thames & Hudson at £9.95.

Structural mechanics

Introduction to the Mechanics of Solids by Martin A. Eisenberg Addison-Wesley, £8.50 ISBN 0 201 01934 5

Intended to cover the basic principles of a structural mechanics course suitable for first-degree engineering students, this text's treatment of the subject matter is essentially traditional. To enter for different preferred sequences of presentation of topics discrete subjects are treated in separate chapters, the modular presentation allowing appropriate selection of material to suit individual needs. A system of identifying with an asterisk optional sections, which can be skipped if desired, is used. In this way civil engineers, for example, can give more emphasis to different topics.

The book is well laid out and much thought has been given to aiding the student's comprehension. A list of aims is presented at the beginning of each chapter and each section is preceded by a restatement of the particular objective of that section. Suggestions for further reading are included at the end of each chapter.

The use of examples and problems is developed more fully than in many texts. Worked examples are included extensively throughout to illustrate principles and applications. At appropriate places in each chapter a problem is inserted to enable students to check their understanding before passing to the next section. Solutions to these problems are presented towards the end of the book in case difficulties are experienced. Further practice can be obtained from a more extensive list of supplementary problems at the back of the book. Although SI units have been used predominantly throughout the text many of the supplementary problems are quoted in both SI and British units to provide flexibility.

The book begins by reviewing the rudiments of statics and introducing the basics of stress analysis. The treatment is principally two-dimensional, although reference is made to three

dimensions. Stress and strain are defined and the equilibrium displacement equations derived. Stress-strain relations for elastic and inelastic behaviour are discussed and the transformation equations for plane stress and strain are derived.

In the next chapter the characteristics of materials are described. Plastic deformation is discussed in terms of dislocation motion and criteria are introduced. The analysis of stress concentrations in fatigue loading is explained. Similarly, no mention is made of fracture toughness or of the conditions leading to ductile transitions. Creep properties are not discussed and reference is made to metallic materials only. Most engineers nowadays deal with a wide range of materials, plastics, concrete and composites.

The remainder of the book is mainly with applications of the principles developed earlier to a wide range of problems. Torsion, both the elastic and plastic, beams in bending are dealt with. There is a chapter on indeterminate systems which introduces the concept of influence lines. This is followed by a discussion of energy methods and the Castigliano's theorems in a fashion. However, the influence matrix notation allows problems to be set up in a form suitable for computer solution, and an elementary treatment of finite element analysis is presented as an option for the student.

The final two chapters deal with the development of columns and the buckling of columns and the development of thick-walled cylinders. The case is the only real two-dimensional stress analysis book.

G. A. Webster

G. A. Webster is senior lecturer in mechanical engineering at the College, London.

The Lineaments of Mind: In historical perspective

by John Cohen Freeman, £13.50 ISBN 0 7167 1175 3

As the author of this book is an emeritus professor of psychology, it is hardly surprising that its subject matter is largely psychological, although it is hardly the kind of psychology that one is accustomed to find in a contemporary textbook. It has no clear-cut thesis and is best described as a distillation of Professor Cohen's life-long struggle to discover a theoretical basis for psychology which on the one hand accords with the realities of human experience and on the other, justifies psychology's claim for inclusion among the natural sciences. Although this discursive and distinctly idiosyncratic work is certainly not without interest to the professional psychologist, Professor Cohen clearly intended it for the general reader, with or without a scientific background. It is particularly to be recommended to readers with some interest, and preferably some degree of sophistication, in the history and philosophy of science.

Appropriately enough, Professor Cohen begins with a discussion of the place of psychology among the sciences. Here we find him from the start in something of a dilemma. Though confidently believing that psychology merits recognition within the framework of the natural sci-

ences - indeed he sees some of its problems as analogous to those of quantum physics - he is clearly unhappy at the prospect of its total absorption by science. As he not unjustly remarks, the experiences of love, hate, grief and joy are far more effectively handled by the writers of poetry, fiction and drama than by the experimental psychologist. None the less, he gives cogent reasons for siding with those who recognize psychology as a *bona fide* scientific discipline and points out that even should its claims to science be rejected, psychological problems which no other discipline can tackle will remain and, if ignored, go by default.

Professor Cohen's approach to what he calls the lineaments of mind hinges on the concept of structure, which is applied in a somewhat confusing way not only to the mind but also to the brain, and indeed to the relations between the two sets of structures. He is careful to point out, however, that his own concept of mental structure owes nothing to "structuralism", as this term is understood in contemporary anthropology and linguistics. If anything, it is more akin to Piaget's concept of structure as used in his interpretation of child development - though Professor Cohen evidently would not consider himself as a strict Piagetian. Indeed, rather than adopt any of the currently fashionable notions, Professor Cohen seeks to endow the idea of psychical structure with a degree

of precision in terms of its history from Aristotle to modern philosophers of science. Though his erudite and well written exposition is something of a *tour de force*, one has an uneasy feeling that his whole endeavour is of the nature of a *synthèse mummée*. This, however, is a matter to be judged by the philosophers, among whom the present reviewer is unable to count himself.

Pursuing his historical approach, Professor Cohen passes on to robots and concepts of mental structure, and then from robots to memory. About robots Professor Cohen evidently possesses a fund of esoteric knowledge and has most interesting things to say about their role in the evolution of prototypes of mental structure. In this connexion, he is particularly interesting about Ramon Lull, a thirteenth-century Spanish mystic who seems to have been the first to attempt to embody logical operations in a machine. He is also credited with altering Descartes' to the properties of automata. The interested in artificial intelligence might derive some fascinating information from the fourth chapter of this book.

From robots and the mind-body relation, Professor Cohen proceeds to a discussion of some more conventional topics in general psychology. Memory is given pride of place and is discussed with particular reference to its relations with perception and thought. There are two interesting chapters on imagination and a

remarkable chapter on metaphor, representing the sole chapter in this book dedicated to the psychology of language. Lastly, there are two chapters on the psychology of time and chance - issues to which Professor Cohen has devoted much time and thought in earlier publications. As all these chapters focus largely on memory, Professor Cohen's mature views on this central problem of psychology merit brief review.

In his treatment, Professor Cohen stands close to F. C. Bartlett, who in his famous book on *Remembering*, published in 1932, strongly attacked the view that memory could be regarded as a circumscribed faculty which might be studied in isolation from the cognate issues of perception, memory and thinking. Since Bartlett's day, this tendency to compartmentalize mental life has if anything got worse, and Professor Cohen rightly criticizes contemporary theoretical treatments, such as that of D.A. Norman, on the ground that memory is envisaged as a little commerce with perception or thinking, let alone emotion, which most people would view as the most important factor governing storage of past events in memory and the likelihood of their retrieval. The sharp distinction drawn by many psychologists between short-term and long-term memory likewise comes in for witty and well deserved criticism. Although Professor Cohen, in common with many of those whom he criticizes, would no doubt describe

himself as a cognitive psychologist, he is far from believing that concepts of information processing, important as they may be, constitute the royal road to our understanding of memory.

Of particular interest is Professor Cohen's chapter on metaphor which he regards, as did Aristotle, as the favourite child of the marriage of memory and imagination. Not only does he provide a brilliant historical review but adduces some hitherto unpublished data on the development and use of metaphor in young children - a subject crying out for more systematic empirical inquiry.

In the final chapter, Professor Cohen goes full circle and returns to the issue of machine and man with which he began his book. There are apposite comments on the current controversies surrounding artificial intelligence, not least those aroused by Sir James Lighthill's famous report to the Science Research Council in 1973. Not wholly flippant is Professor Cohen's dictum that we shall not have proceeded far in simulating human intelligence until we have constructed a metaphor-making machine. Unfortunately, he provides no clues as to how this remarkable triumph of computer engineering might be achieved.

O. L. Zangwill

O. L. Zangwill is professor of experimental psychology at the University of Cambridge.

Polymer properties

Polymer Surfaces by D. W. Cherry Cambridge University Press, £14.00 and £6.95 ISBN 0 521 23082 9 and 29792 3

The present volume in the Cambridge Solid State Science series is the second to treat a particular aspect of polymer science, an earlier work examining the *Electrical Properties of Polymers* (A. R. Blythe, 1979). Cherry's book is a useful addition to the series, for the topic is one of increasing scientific and commercial interest.

The material is presented in a logical sequence. The book starts with the classic thermodynamic approach to surfaces and discusses the various experimental techniques used to measure surface tension and surface energy directly. It is unfortunate, however, that there is no critical comparison of the various values produced by such methods, and the surface energies tabulated are restricted to a handful of polymer types. Only three values for surface energy are reported and there are wide discrepancies between values calculated from the potential energy function and those observed experimentally. There are also wide discrepancies between different experimental results and it is a pity that the author did not expand this section in order to discuss in detail the difficulties which can arise at polymer surfaces.

A second opportunity was missed in the subsequent chapter on interfaces, in which the author describes an experimental method for the determination of the interfacial energy between amorphous and crystalline poly(ethylene). This was an excellent chance to discuss the exact nature of the interface, whether consisting of perfectly folded chains or the more imperfect models with random conformations and chains crossing the interface. This chapter also includes a section on wetting of solid polymer surfaces by low molecular mass liquids. Microscopic evidence could surely have been introduced at this point to indicate to the reader the enormous variations that can occur in the surface topography of real polymer specimens.

In the following chapter, on adhesives, the limitations of the author's purely physical approach become even more obvious. This is no reflection on the ability of the author, but rather a comment on the way commercial developments in adhesives have shut

ahead of physical attempts to explain their action. The chemistry of polymerization is vital to an understanding of the so-called "super-glues", essentially based on cyanoacrylate monomers of various structures, and the bridge between the physical and chemical approaches to polymers is often the clue to understanding the often puzzling and usually fascinating phenomena exhibited by polymers.

The chemical approach has, however, been almost entirely neglected by the author of this book, despite the claim on the dust cover (repeated in the preface) that it presents a unified presentation of the subject. This comment applies with equal force to the many methods used commercially to modify polymer surfaces by physical (for example, corona discharge) or chemical (for example, chromic acid etching) means. These techniques have been widely studied by many academics but undeservedly receive scant attention in this book, being mentioned briefly on one or two pages.

Two chapters are devoted to aspects of fracture in polymers, including discussion of ways of determining fracture surface energy. These chapters reflect the interesting and important ways in which fracture mechanics has been applied to polymers within the past decade or so. Two final chapters are devoted to various aspects of friction and wear at polymer surfaces, a difficult area well discussed by the author. It is a pity, however, that he does not discuss some of the more important structural applications, such as the use of high hysteretic rubbers in tread compounds for car tyres, another example of the way industrial developments are either ignored or relegated to a brief mention. In fact, much of the work described arose directly as a result of those commercial developments.

Despite its purely physical approach, the monograph should appeal to final-year materials science and engineering undergraduates as well as postgraduate students wishing to enlarge their knowledge of the physical properties of polymers. Like its earlier sister volume on electrical properties, it is to be hoped that a paperback edition will be made available as soon as possible.

Peter R. Lewis

Peter R. Lewis is lecturer in materials science at the Open University.

Mysterious precipitations

The Rainmakers: American "pluviculture" to World War II by Clark C. Spence University of Nebraska Press, £9.60 ISBN 0 8032 4117 8

Man's attempts to modify the weather have always contained more mysticism than science, and have always been more efficacious in primitive than in advanced societies. As the centuries have passed, direct and often arbitrary intervention by alchemist-like deities has evolved into deliberate modification by people. There has remained, however, a strong element of mystery surrounding techniques that have been devised for lightning suppression, the dispersion of fogs, the elimination of hail, or rainmaking.

Spence charts the history of rainmaking - or pluviculture - within the United States from the early nineteenth century to 1946 when, he claims, the first successful cloud-seeding experiment was carried out by Langmuir and Schaefer, and rainmaking became an operational, scientific, heavily based activity. This claim, in my view, is unsubstantiated. Although it is true that our understanding of the dynamical and microphysical processes that govern the production of precipitation has increased markedly in the past three decades, the precise elucidation of conditions under which significant enhancement can be produced, and the optimal types, concentrations and placement of seeding material in such circumstances, has eluded investigators.

The major difficulty seems to lie in the combination of the large natural variability of the precipitation efficiency of natural clouds with the relatively small changes that man's intervention might produce. It is by no means certain that a sequel to the present book, covering pluviculture after World War II, will not be appropriate at some future date. This qualification aside, I should like to commend an entertaining and well-written account of a century of rainmaking in the United States, which was performed by peripatetic individuals, the precise nature of whose systems tended to remain obscure.

Particular approaches were in vogue at different times. The earliest widely utilized one was convection, in which the physical principle - generally unspecified and possibly unrecognized - was to produce rain by raising moist air to higher altitudes and thus cooling it.

One entrepreneur wished to push air through seventeen thousand feet of corrugated iron tubing, twenty feet in diameter, up the side of Mount Whitney, in California. Another approach, concussion, was based on the association, reported two thousand years ago by Plutarch and frequently thereafter, between the noise of battle and the fall of rain. Plutarch commented that "extraordinary rains pretty generally fall after great battles; whether it be that some divine power thus washes and cleanses the polluted earth from above, or that moist and heavy evaporations, steaming forth from the blood and corruption, thicken the air, which naturally is subject to alteration from the smallest causes." This approach culminated in Congress authorizing funds for a totally ineffectual expedition, in 1892, to cannonade clouds in Texas. The next important group - the Kansas smell-makers - sought to relieve drought by releasing chemicals into the atmosphere. A later approach was to seed clouds with electrified sand. Eventually, all these techniques became discredited.

The rainmakers were colourful, mysterious and ineffectual. Some were charlatans and others misguided. The successful ones in the former category tended to utilize rainfall statistics to their advantage and to operate on a very profitable "no rain, no pay" basis, which desperate ranchers were prepared to accept.

The US Weather Bureau consistently condemned the activities of the rainmakers. It seems possible that if it had not been so monolithically dismissive some useful experiments might have been carried out much earlier than 1946.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of pluviculture was the response of the public - a combination of gullibility and cynicism; an example of the latter being a letter to the New York Tribune in 1919 proposing "that since explosions brought rain, would not a serene atmosphere prevent it? Why not send aloft string orchestras and music boxes attached to kites to soothe the clouds and halt impending rainstorms?"

John Latham

John Latham is professor of atmospheric physics at the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology.

El coronel no tiene quien le escriba

Gabriel García Márquez Giovanni Pontiero editor The first edition of this important South American novel to be issued with introduction, notes and glossary for students of Spanish. 07190 08360 Spanish Texts £3.95

Industrial development and migrant labour

Julian Leites 07190 08168 £12.50 approx July

The English Parliament in the Middle Ages

R G Davies and J H Denton editors 07190 08336 £13.95 July

Manchester University Press Oxford Road Manchester M13 9PL

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NOTICE BOARD



Manchester City art galleries are appealing for £2m to save the Chatsworth Poussin, above left, and a marble bust by Alessandro Algardi. If the money is not raised within three months both will go to America. Poussin's masterpiece 'The Holy Family' will cost £1.8m and the Algardi, the only one in Britain will cost £265,000.

Forthcoming Events

Theory and Text: New Developments in the Study of Literary Language, a two day conference organised by the department of English in association with the *Journal of Literary Studies* is to be held from July 10-11 at the University of Southampton. Speakers include Mr Colin McCabe, former fellow of King's College, Cambridge and now professor of English at Strathclyde University, 'So Truth in the Field', Mithras' Practice of Writing and Theories of Language, Fee: £25.00. Further details from Maud Elman, department of English, Southampton University, Southampton SO9 5NH.

State Medicine and the National Health Service 1947-1974 the 1981 conference of the Society for the Social History of Medicine is to be held on July 10-12 at the Lancaster Polytechnic, Coventry. Speakers will include Professor Sir Douglas Black, president of the Royal College of Physicians and Professor Tom Ramsey, director of the Coventry and Warwickshire Pergandine Medical Centre. Further details from David Felcey, Hon. Secretary of the Society, Registry, Warwick University, Coventry.

The National Film Archive and the British Universities Film Council are running a one day seminar on the theme of cinema designed to introduce researchers and others to the archive on July 17 at the BUFC, 81 Dean Street, London W1. Fee: £13.50. Further details from Elizabeth Oliver, BUFC.

A comprehensive engineering exhibition and careers convention is being held at the North East London Polytechnic, Barking Precinct, Longbridge Road, Dagenham from July 14-15. The exhibition aims to inform schoolchildren and parents of the kind of work being done in engineering and the career possibilities that exist. The exhibition will feature chemical and systems engineering, manufacturing, engineering, computing, electrical and electronic engineering. Further details from Mr John Smith, faculty administrative officer, faculty of engineering, N.E.L.P., at the above address.

'Intercultural Issues' the third annual intercultural conference/workshop is to be held at the University of Bradford from July 13-17 in association with the Indiana University/Purdue University at Indianapolis (USA). The programme will cover a wide range of theoretical and practical issues relating to race relations, language and ethnic minorities, discrimination and prejudice and disadvantage and attainment. Further details from Dr O. K. Verman or Dr Oliva Rees, Postgraduate School of Studies, in Research in Education, Bradford University.

'The Riding of 1381: St Albans Commemorative Conference' a one day conference is to be held on July 18 from 10.30 am to 5 pm at St Albans Abbey, St Albans. Speakers include Professor R. Hilton, and Dr R. Tait, Deeds, and booking forms from Dr A. F. Hooper, 73 Pagant Road, St Albans, Herts.

Open University programmes June 27 to July 3

Saturday June 27

7.10 Advisory Programme for Applicants (2). Preparation for the OU.

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Colleges of Higher Education

Chief Scientist

Department of Health and Social Security
£26,215

The Chief Scientist is the Department's authority on all scientific policy and research matters. The post, which carries Deputy Secretary rank, has important advisory functions at the highest levels in DHSS and full administrative responsibility for the work of about 30 research units and a budget in excess of £12½ million for 1981/82.

The role also involves fostering working relationships with the research councils, and especially at this time for consolidating interaction with the Medical Research Council in the field of bio-medical research and as the Council's capacity to undertake health services research increases.

Candidates must be scientists (preferably with medical qualifications) with the high academic, managerial and personal qualifications necessary to promote excellence in the Department's scientific research, to generate confidence in this work throughout the research community, and to contribute relevant, high quality advice in the policy field.

Appointment will be for a period of 3 years in the first instance renewable to a maximum of 5 years. Salary for a Deputy Secretary post is £26,215 a year but in certain circumstances it may be possible to arrange for a secondment from the applicant's current employer.

For further details and an application form (to be returned by 24 July 1981) write to the Civil Service Commission, Alencon Link, Basingstoke, Hants, RG21 1JB, or telephone Basingstoke (0256) 68551 (answering service operates outside office hours). Please quote reference S/5584/3.



St Mary's College
Strawberry Hill

St Mary's College
Strawberry Hill,
Twickenham TW1 4SX

This is a Catholic college of higher education with 1,100 students (mixed). It offers internal B.A., B.Sc., B.H. and B.Ed. degrees of the University of London at Honours level.

Lecturer II/ Senior Lecturer in Movement Studies

Applications are invited from suitably qualified graduates. Candidates must be able to contribute to one or more of the following theoretical areas offered by the Department of Movement Studies: (a) Sport Psychology; (b) Sport Sociology; (c) Bio-mechanics; (d) The Professional Preparation of Teachers.

A higher degree and research experience would be a considerable advantage as would the ability to contribute to the practical work of the Department. Teaching experience would be desirable but not essential. The appointment will commence on either 1st September 1981, or 1st January 1982. (This post is additional to the one recently advertised.)

The salary will be in accordance with Burnham Further Education Scales plus London Allowance. Further details from the Principal to whom applications (there are no official forms) should be sent together with the names of three referees to arrive not later than 10th July 1981, and addressed to The Principal, St Mary's College, Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, TW1 4SX.

Colleges of Technology

REGIONAL COUNCIL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

PRINCIPAL

Napier College of Commerce and Technology
Edinburgh

The above post will become vacant on the retirement of Principal J. Dunning CBE on 31 December 1981.

Napier College, which opened in 1964, is now a major institution of Higher Education and provides a wide range of advanced courses tailored to meet the needs of industry and Commerce - CNA Degrees, Higher Diplomas, Certificates and Professional Qualifications.

The College is a Group 12 College in terms of the Scottish Teachers Salaries Memorandum 1980 and presently the post carries a salary of £26,077.

Proven managerial experience in a relevant area, leadership qualities and appropriate qualifications are essential prerequisites for the post.

Applications comprising a curriculum vitae together with the names of two referees and a supporting letter of application should be sent in an envelope marked "Confidential" to: Mr J.W. Sellers, Divisional Education Officer, Department of Education, Lothian Regional Council, 40 Torphichen Street, EDINBURGH EH3 8JJ.

Further details may be obtained from the above (Tel. No. 031 229 8222 Ext 3080).

CLOSING DATE FOR APPLICATION IS FRIDAY 17 JULY 1981.

Colleges of Art

DUNCAN OF JORDANSTONE COLLEGE OF ART POST OF HEAD OF THE SCHOOL OF HOME ECONOMICS, CATERING AND INSTITUTIONAL MANAGEMENT

Applications are invited for the above post in the School of Home Economics, Catering and Institutional Management which at present offers courses leading to the award of the Diploma in Home Economics and the Higher Diploma in Hotel, Catering and Institutional Management. Proposals are being considered for the replacement of the existing Diploma course in Home Economics.

Applicants should be knowledgeable and conversant with at least one and possibly more of the four main disciplines of the School and have had senior academic administrative experience or relevant professional or business management experience.

The annual salary is £18,510 (under review). Further particulars and forms of application may be obtained from the Secretary, Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art, Perth Road, Dundee DD1 4HT Tel. 0392 23261 to whom completed applications should be returned not later than 21st July 1981.

Research

BRIGHTON POLYTECHNIC
Department of
Civil Engineering

RESEARCH ASSISTANT

£4386-£5034

Applications are invited from graduates with good academic qualifications.

The research programme will involve the design of new test pieces and stability of existing pieces in relation to new methods of working in the brightening system.

The successful candidate will be registered for an MPhil/PhD of the CNA.

Application form and further details from the Deputy Head of Personnel, Brighton Polytechnic, Moulsecoomb, Brighton BN2 4AT, Telephone Brighton 89333 Ext. 2537, Closing date 10th July 1981.

BIRMINGHAM
UNIVERSITY OF
CENTRE FOR MATERIALS
SCIENCE

Research Fellowships

Applications are invited for an 18-month research fellowship available from 1 September 1981.

The successful candidate will be required to collaborate with the research group in the study of the mechanical properties of Alloys.

The research involves use of advanced photographic techniques and X-ray diffraction.

Applicants should have a first class honours degree in Physics or allied subjects, knowledge of electron microscopy and solid state physics.

The salary will be on the Research Fellow Scale £12,000-£15,000.

Further details from Dr. R.C. Jordan, 021 479 1307 ext. 4111.

Further particulars from the Registrar, 021 479 1307 ext. 4111.

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Administration

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

HM Inspectors of Schools FURTHER AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Applications are invited from men and women, preferably aged between 35 and 45, for appointment as HM Inspectors to work mainly in Further and Higher Education. Vacancies exist in the following fields: Adult Education; Art and Design; Business and Management Studies; Civil Engineering and Construction; Computer Education; Engineering; Food Education; Social Sciences. For all posts, applicants should be well qualified in an appropriate discipline and have substantial teaching experience. All HM Inspectors undertake general duties as well as specialist work and candidates should, therefore, have a broad interest in Further and Higher Education. Some of the posts require, in addition, appropriate industrial experience.

Starting salary is within the range £12,325-£17,508 (higher in London). The salary scales are, however, under review. Higher posts are filled by promotion.

Application forms (to be returned by 17th July 1981) and further information may be obtained from Miss J. D. Church, Department of Education and Science, Room 102, Elizabeth House, 39 York Road, London SE1 7PH, telephone 01-928 9222, extension 2237 or 2786. Please quote 281E.

THS 11



PAISLEY
COLLEGE

SENIOR STUDENT ADVISORY OFFICER

SLA Scale £10,609 to £13,281
(under review)

Applications are invited for appointment to the post of Senior Student Advisory Officer with responsibility for running the College's Student Advisory Service. The Service is charged with the task of providing careers advice to 2,200 full-time students as well as providing welfare, accommodation and health services. Candidates who should be graduates, should have proven administrative ability, industrial experience and experience of, or training in, vocational guidance would be an added advantage.

Further particulars, including details of the work undertaken by the Service, and application forms may be obtained from the Personnel Officer, Paisley College of Technology, High Street, Paisley PA1 2BE (Tel. 041-887-1241 Ext. 230) to whom completed forms should be returned by 3rd July 1981.

THS 11

MANCHESTER THE UNIVERSITY OF WHITWORTH ART GALLERY

Applications are invited for the post of Exhibitions Officer to be responsible for the day-to-day running of the gallery's exhibitions.

The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the gallery's exhibitions.

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SUNDERLAND SUNDERLAND POLYTECHNIC FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Applications are invited for the post of Lecturer in the Faculty of Humanities.

The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the faculty's exhibitions.

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Overseas



Western Australian
Institute of Technology

School of Behavioural Science

LECTURER - ORGANIZATIONAL
PSYCHOLOGY (Ref. 393)

Participate in course design and administration, community liaison, teaching and field research supervision of the Graduate Diploma in Occupational Psychology. Relevant higher degree (PhD preferred) and at least five years' experience in business or industry required. Proven ability to conduct research and publish an advantage.

School of
Occupational Therapy

SENIOR LECTURER (Ref. 251C)

Teach, develop and co-ordinate occupational therapy theory and practice including developmental disabilities within undergraduate programme. Provide educational leadership and undertake administration.

Applicants must possess professional qualifications recognised by WFOT, have a minimum of five years clinical experience, with a minimum of three years in developmental disabilities, and have previous tertiary teaching experience.

School of
Community Health

SENIOR LECTURER - OCCUPATIONAL
HEALTH AND SAFETY (Ref. 371A)

Develop, coordinate and teach occupational health, hygiene and safety in graduate and undergraduate programmes. Considerable industrial experience essential.

Applicants should possess a higher degree and research experience in the field of occupational health and/or safety.

LECTURER - BIOSTATISTICS/
EPIDEMIOLOGY (Ref. 395)

Teach health research methods, biostatistics and epidemiology in graduate programmes for health professionals; organise/supervise computing laboratory sessions; participate in consultative programme for health research.

School of Art and Design

LECTURER - FOUNDATION COURSE
DESIGN (Ref. 392)

Develop and teach basic introductory and diagnostic courses in design for all students undertaking first degree level programmes leading to specialisation in graphic, media, industrial and craft design.

Applicants must possess a first degree in the field of study with professional design and tertiary teaching experience. A higher degree in the field will be advantageous.

School of
Architecture and Planning

LECTURER - QUANTITY SURVEYING
(Ref. 391)

Teach prices analysis and cost planning and control in new three year Quantity Surveying degree course. Eligibility for membership of the Australian Institute of Quantity Surveyors or Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors and relevant professional experience essential. Experience in computer applications, in cost modelling techniques an advantage. Limited term appointment up to a maximum of three years available.

Salary Range: Senior Lecturer: \$26,593 - \$30,985, Lecturer: \$18,821 - \$22,037 (Aust)

Qualifications: Senior Lecturer - a relevant higher degree and considerable experience, including tertiary teaching preferred. Lecturer - postgraduate qualifications with experience, including teaching desirable. Candidates with lesser qualifications will be considered at other than the advertised level.

Terms: These positions (excluding Ref. 391) are available with permanent tenure, however the Institute is interested in receiving applications from persons preferring a Limited Term appointment. Conditions include leave for employee and family plus some assistance with removal expenses. Superannuation is available for staff with Permanent Tenure. Return fares are provided for staff appointed for a Limited Term.

Applications: Details, including names and addresses of those eligible to be submitted in duplicate not later than 31st July 1981 to the Migration Officer, Western Australian House, 118 Street, London WC2R 0AL, from whom a brochure containing further information may be obtained. When applying please quote position reference number and code HES.

THE SUNDAY TIMES

THE SUNDAY TIMES

THE SUNDAY TIMES

THE SUNDAY TIMES



Principal Lecturer (Co-ordinator of Studies) PROGRAMME DEVELOPMENT OFFICERS

(HK\$107,580 to HK\$163,980 p.a. Plus 25%
Contract Gratuity at Senior Lecturer level
HK\$81,380 to HK\$102,180 p.a. Plus 25%
Contract Gratuity at Lecturer level)
£1 = HK\$10.95 on 17.6.81

The Hong Kong Polytechnic requires persons with qualifications or wide experience in Instructional Development to initiate, stimulate and co-ordinate the production of learning packages for utilization on the Polytechnic's wide range of evening courses.

The successful candidate should be able to conduct needs assessment, learning analysis, task analysis, content review, media design, selection and evaluation.

The material referred to will be produced by the subject specialists, in co-operation with the Programme Development Officers, on a commissioned basis and copyright and royalty agreements will be determined for each package.

The Polytechnic is committed to the production of this type of learning material and because of its importance appointments will be made mainly at Senior Lecturer level, initially on a two year contract basis.

Benefits include long leave; subsidised accommodation for overseas appointees, and local appointees on a salary of HK\$8,515 p.m. or above; medical and dental benefits; children's education allowance and a terminal gratuity of 25% of basic salary received over entire contract period.

Application forms and further information are obtained from the Hong Kong Government Office, 8 Grafton Street, London W1X 3LB, U.K. Completed application forms should be returned to the same office by 10th July 1981.

THS 12

CHURCHLANDS COLLEGE Perth, Western Australia

Lecturer/ Assistant Lecturer in Law

Churchlands College was established in 1972 and is situated 10 kilometres from the centre of Perth. In 1981, 1250 students are enrolled in business studies courses and 1800 students are enrolled in teacher education courses. There are 150 members of academic staff.

The School of Business offers a Bachelor of Business degree with streams in Accounting, Administrative Studies, Finance, Information Management & Information Processing together with Graduate Diplomas in Accounting, Finance and Management Studies.

We are looking for a Lecturer or Assistant Lecturer (depending upon qualifications and experience) to teach in one or more of the following areas: namely, Commercial Law, Company Law, Industrial Law and Consumer Law.

You should have at least a law degree from a recognised University preferably with appropriate professional experience. Two senior members of staff will visit the United Kingdom in 1981 and candidates who have been shortlisted may be offered the opportunity to attend an interview. The successful applicant will be expected to take up appointment by February 1982.

Conditions of Service are similar to those in universities and in other colleges of advanced education in Australia.

Salaries: Lecturer I \$A 22,195 - \$A 26,038

Lecturer II \$A 18,820 - \$A 22,661

Assistant Lecturer \$A 17,082 - \$A 19,570

Applications should include personal particulars, details of qualifications, experience, publications, research and the names and addresses of three referees. These should be forwarded by August 15th, 1981, to: The Personnel Officer, Churchlands College, Pearson Street, Churchlands 6018, Western Australia.

THS 12

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL Department of African Studies DURBAN

LECTURER

In Comparative African Government and Administration

The salary in the range R10 995 - R18 230 per annum.

Academic qualifications and teaching experience are required in one or more of the social sciences, namely, comparative, but relevant to Comparative Africa Government and Administration. A knowledge of African societies outside Southern Africa would be an additional recommendation.

The corresponding salary notice will be dependent on the qualifications and experience of the successful applicant. In addition, a service bonus of 33% of one month's salary is payable subject to Treasury regulations.

Applicants should send further particulars of the post and information on personal, medical and group insurance, staff bursary, housing loan and subsidy to the Migration Officer, University of Natal, King George V Avenue, Durban, 4001, South Africa with whom applications and the pre-approval form, must be lodged not later than 7th August 1981 quoting the reference THS 12.

THS 12

A FURTHER SELECTION
OF OVERSEAS APPOINTMENTS
APPEARS ON PAGE 20.

School of Visual Communication Design

Applications are invited from persons with appropriate qualifications and experience for the following posts at L2/SL level.

LECTURER IN GRAPHIC DESIGN LECTURER IN GRAPHIC DESIGN/ILLUSTRATION

(This is a temporary one-year appointment)

Salary: L2 - £8,464-£10,431

SL - £9,624-£11,328 (bar) - £12,141

Full details of these posts and application forms may be obtained from: The Personnel Office.

Inglemire Avenue, Hull HU6 7LU
Tel: (0482) 42157



Hull College of
Higher Education

School of Teacher Education

Applications are invited from persons with appropriate qualifications and experience for the following posts at L2/SL level.

LECTURER IN EDUCATION OF THE HANDICAPPED LECTURER IN COMPUTING AND STATISTICS

Salary: L2 - £8,464-£10,431

SL - £9,624-£11,328 (bar) - £12,141

Full details of these posts and application forms may be obtained from: The Personnel Office.

Don's diary

Saturday

My first weekend in London. Shop briefly walking to British Museum to take in *The Gauds* and their ghoulish burial paraphernalia, plus *Princely Paintings of the Mughals*, but leave *Turner & The Sublime* for another time. Early evening train to Oxford to party given by two prominent historians - definitely a glittering prize do. Meet a number of people with new books out, several there reviewing each other's. Famous Sunday columnist advises on how to get on the food writing gravy train and then amuses with tale of libel about a don. Charming publisher encouraging about possible life - not *Confessions of a Careers Adviser*, but there's a thought.

Sunday

Spend morning recovering with hosts' delightful young children. Their mother and I reminisce on student days in Aberystwyth and on mutual acquaintances. Back in London, spend a couple of hours in the Museum of London, where I withstand the Great Fire of London (marvellous simulation with Pepsys voice-over) and the Second World War (Anderson air raid shelter and buzz bombs). Selfridges' old Art Deco lift on display brings back memories of annual trips to see their window displays, the toy department and Father Christmas.

Monday

Awaiting the word processing of my first Shell job description, I have time to peruse my survey of graduate applications/interviewers to males and females, which I am to present to an Association of Graduate Careers Advisory Services Equal Opportunities Working Party Open Day (in Shell this would "simply" be AGCASEOW-PD). Evening meeting of this group, where it is nice to see colleagues again. Afterwards meet Indian friends for meal, where I hear about their recent trip to New York and the UN Law of the Sea conference. Wine promotes gossip and then a more serious discussion comparing the experiences of being coloured in the States and here.

Tuesday

Nervously deliver my survey findings and then enjoy rest of morning's programme on equal opportunities, the session on Women and Assertive Behaviour. Wish I'd heard it before my piece. Lunch with Aberystwyth head of department as he is in London too. Evening, meet friend in dank cellar frequented by mandarins. Celebrate his change from the law to merchant banking and his birthday in a Singaporean restaurant, where he is obviously well known. Mystery of the evening when one of the staff quizzes me on whether I am a *policewoman* (!). Immediately imagine scenes of gamb-

Private funds for the public sector?



Keith Hampson

As I listened to the "snap, crackle and pop" of the breakfast cereal, there to me what I shall call the "Kellogg solution" to the financial troubles of our universities.

The Harvard Business School has a Kellogg chair of marketing. It has scores of other named chairs. So, you might add, have our own universities. True, but the naming of chairs is not such big business in this country. Why name a chair after some local worthy when you can name it after a company? Harvard has become embarrassed by the number of corporations lined up offering to fund chairs. Committees sit to devise yet more esoteric branches of a subject to mop up the cash. The latest, I am told, is business ethics.

We have our own philanthropists of course, like Mr Robinson, and firms do help out every now and then when approached. But why not go the whole hog and make a drive for company sponsorship for professors? We have had the John Player League and National Westminster opera; why not

Enjoying myself during the last few months by writing about all sorts of things other than education I think it is time I wrote more specifically about education, while suspecting that I have got out of the habit of confining myself to one subject.

Looking recently at two projects launched by enthusiastic people, with the help of the Manpower Services Commission, to create some work and training for boys and girls of the 16 to 19 age group who would otherwise join the growing army of unemployed youth, I have been forced to think again about the relevance or irrelevance of studies we take for granted. The 16 to 19 age group may not seem to be the concern of higher education, but in practice it is because higher education affects all the rest of education, giving it a sense of security when all is going well and the opposite when higher education is itself in trouble.

Wednesday

Quiet, writing day at Shell. Later, at friend's invitation join Lord Evans's group at House of Lords prior to his speech on leasehold reform, which has been championed by two Cardiff women. Once through security checks am impressed by unstuffy, casual atmosphere inside. In central lobby bump into local MP Geraint Howells and three Cardiganshire ladies whom I know. Small world theory borne out when, during drinks on the terrace, one of the party turns out to be new Liberal peer Geoff Tordoff, who is Shell Public Affairs man, whose department I am due to visit to conduct interviews for job descriptions. He challenges me to describe his!

Thursday

Busy day reworking job descriptions of people I have interviewed to date, in order to get them into the Shell format and for reference use at job evaluation panels. Am generally impressed by the thoroughness and professionalism of Shell's elaborate appraisal system. Commenting on the munificence of Shell (excellent free restaurant, coffee on tap, on-site shops, medical centre, dentist), someone mutters about it being a "mink-lined mousetrap". Certainly by way of contrast life here highlights the relative austerity of public sector life. Also pleasant change to experience secure environment again where conversations do not inevitably dwell on redundancies, likely student numbers and the merits or otherwise of academic departments (and the Careers Service!) - dog eating dog in the land of Canine and the Able.

Friday

Spend excellent morning over at Shell International on South Bank, starting with a clear view over London from the top - truly uplifting, and reassuring in some ways, as the many Wren churches still stand out and rival the mixed bag of skyscrapers. Meet Shell's head of translation and we have long discussion about careers in translation and language degree courses (she is a member of CNA validation committee). Eventual and delicious lunch with young Foreign Office friend in Covent Garden renders Friday afternoon less than productive. Contemplate my husband's arrival that night and *Anyone for Denis* in Whitehall.

Susan C. Balsom

The author is careers adviser at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

Training for a new concept of work



Patrick Nuttgens

fighting itself and fall to pieces, like Napoleon's army retreating from Moscow, but things are not yet that bad and I am consoled (and amazed) by the number of academics who have muttered quietly, "Best thing that ever happened to us".

I have spent two days recently in places other than this polytechnic presenting papers and discussing the future (and even whether there was a future) and I have come away more fascinated and convinced by the determination of the teachers than I used to be when things were better resourced. While everything is laid out and the future is assured there is little to get upset about other than trivialities. The most vicious disputes in the academic world are usually about things that do not matter.

I have never been convinced we should train people to watch television for the rest of their lives

Of course trivialities are what we like to discuss when times are good because they are what we really understand. Times have changed. The possibility of redundancy, like other unwelcome events, does concentrate the mind wonderfully.

What the crisis has been forcing me to do, in various lectures and papers as well as countless discussions with colleagues, is to concentrate more upon what we are educating and training our students for. That may not matter very much in the ancient universities - or possibly even in the great provincial universities - but it is an immediate problem for the polytechnics because we were set up and developed (and some of us have confidently made it a policy) to educate and train people for occupations; in any course that we consider running there should be, at

least in principle, a job at the end. The notorious shortage of such jobs forces us to think self-critically again; were training people for unemployment? As one of the protagonists of the functional school, I have never been convinced that it is our job, if there is to be permanent unemployment, to train people to sit down and watch television for the rest of their lives. But the developments of the last few decades mean that there is sure to be unemployment of the kind we should about now; technological advances such as the microchip mean that some of the more mindless and repetitive jobs should be done other than automatically. And that means that we must look at the meaning of work - of activity and occupations and employment - again.

To quote from one of my own recent lectures, we have inherited from Victorian England the divorce between industry and education. Any bridging of them together requires a recognition of changes in the meaning of work - not just from labour to leisure but a new view of work, which includes what many people look like leisure. Of course there will be unemployment but only if we fail to recognize the enlarged meaning of work, including welfare, commitment and social concern. We live in what is rapidly becoming a DIY society in which everyone will have to do his or her own maintenance and have a more personal concern for his or her environment, so that work is not just a means to an end but a part of work. We need a synoptic view.

The idea of a synoptic view is not new. It was used to great effect by Patrick Geddes, the founder of modern town planning; in *Cities in Evolution* he insisted that it was essential to bring together studies in geography, economics and sociology - *Place, Work and Folk* - and discover the links between them. That required, he said, a synoptic view. We now need a synoptic view of work which includes not only employment but many activities that look like employment. This includes most of the creative arts.

In the world of industry we have a literate and critical work force in an environment in which it is necessary to agree rather than obey. That in itself demands a size which is that of a human group, the group large enough to be effective and offer the necessary for the improvement of the job, small enough for its members to know one another (at the very least, name). It is an even more necessary condition for the creative arts. There is no evidence that huge organizations are creative; where they seem to be it is usually the case that the organization is broken down internally into creative groups or units.

The implication of this is that we have to do a lot of rethinking about both work and education. Of one thing we can be reasonably certain for a time being (and it is very important) - any rethinking about education, if it is that there is no way other than the one for the majority of people to learn themselves; the identification of what they do is what gives most people identity and self-respect.

And that takes me back to the 16 to 19 age group, especially the part of it - the vast majority - who are not going to enter higher education. It is the single most crucial and dangerous problem facing education today. I hope to return to it in a later column.

The big difference, unfortunately, between us and the Americans is that British Governments will not encourage giving. There are huge tax incentives in the States. Gifts to charities can be set against tax. In this country, the tax concession lies with the beneficiary, which is rather odd if no one has any incentive to give. Charitable status frees donations received from income tax. To grant a concession to the donor as well scares the Treasury stiff.

Private funding need not prevent universities remaining an institution primarily concerned with research. A scholarship for their own sake. It is about learning not skill training. I wrote one recent letter to me put it. "I told" innovation cannot be a funding concept, even though a funding concept might want some directed research.

But perhaps the only way to secure academic freedom these days is to diversify the financing of higher education. After all, there is room to apply with a company that wants to add strings to its cash. But there is nothing to be done about a drying up of funds or growing Government intervention as it seeks to reappropriate resources.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Research and the law of supply and demand

Sir, - Here is a typical university conversation:

"How is the research going?"

"Well, I've just published my sixth book, had a run of 12 papers in successive issues of *The Faraday Transactions* and am just coming up to my 250th research publication and my 50th research student."

"No, I don't mean that. All these items are unimportant. How much money have you got for your research projects?"

"I've got 12 part-time PhD students in industry working on industrial topics, five more at university funded directly from industry, and three more who have money from industrial research institutes."

"That's not really what I mean - the type of research is unimportant. The key question is have you any money from the Science Research Council or Government sources?"

"I have two students on an SRC award?"

"Does not sound an impressive funding to me - it won't help us in this table of research at universities."

National body

Sir, - Your columns have kept us informed about the arguments going on in the DES over the composition of the eventual national body to control public sector higher education. Now the argument goes one way, your leaks tell us, now it goes the other. If the matter were not important, this storm in a colander would be fun.

Unfortunately it is vastly important, and not only to us who work in polytechnics and to our immediate students. What is being fought over is a most unifying power-struggle, under an indecisive minister, is the tenor and decline and with it any hope that education for decades to come. Whether Tory bosses from the shires, or broad left politicians in the DES, or a combination of such invested interests is to distribute the funding to polytechnics and cognate colleges, is all that they can argue about.

Well, I have taught in a polytechnic since 1971. In the ensuing decade the polytechnics have striven, by dint of devising applied and applicable higher education in both technological and non-technological disciplines, to res-

This is an imagined conversation but crystallizes the arguments being bandied around between heads of departments or section heads and their staff in universities up and down the country. Is this valid or ethical? The amount of money put into a department is not really a measure of scientific success. Rather it is the quality of staff, the interaction at undergraduate level between staff and students and the amount of research actually published. Yet because of the present financial implications the continuation of university research and teaching is in many cases dependent on research money received in the begging bowl from the Government, not on money received from other sources, and it would seem not on results seen in the form of research publications.

The quality of staff is important if the emphasis is really on research when the fact that a department has say 10 staff with DSc as their academic qualification must count, but this must be judged against the obvious fact that 90 per cent of the students are undergraduates and destined for careers in industry. If the present signs are any-

indications, education, religion, the armed forces. The DES would provide the assessors. The body would be responsible for funding major institutions as well as those parts of minor institutions that came within an agreed definition of HE work. Manpower planning may be impossible but even-handed funding is not.

For that is what will happen if the vested interests win. The shorter money gets - and it may for a while - the more they will squabble. Without a UGC-type body for PSE it will decline and with it any hope that education for decades to come. Whether Tory bosses from the shires, or broad left politicians in the DES, or a combination of such invested interests is to distribute the funding to polytechnics and cognate colleges, is all that they can argue about.

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Bodleian Library

Sir, - Your report on the proposal to reduce the opening hours of the Bodleian Library reveals yet another example of how the manner of reducing university finance is resulting in crucial decisions on the future of national assets, such as the library, being made on the narrow financial criteria of the university that happens to own them. If the hours of availability of this Crown Copyright collection of books are reduced then it will affect not only those permanent residents of Oxford who can attend during office hours. Its major adverse impact will be on those who, like myself, whether through luck or through choice, happen not to be members of Oxford University.

As someone who has used the library over many years, as a full-time and a part-time student, I sincerely hope that Mr Creaser's motion gets passed by the congregation. As for the proponents of the education, they can rest assured that when eventually their library opens only during banking hours, this will merely serve as a pretext for closing it down entirely, due to the uneconomic exploitation of an expensive capital asset.

Yours faithfully,
JAN TOPORÓWSKI,
Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham.

Correction

In the letter from Dr A. R. Michell published in *The THES* last week reference in the sixth line to 8-year-olds should, of course, have been to 18-year-olds.

Letters for publication should arrive by Tuesday morning. They should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper. The editor reserves the right to cut or amend them if necessary.

A new academy

Sir, - As the person who volunteered to act as rapporteur for the meeting called to discuss the possibility of an Academy of the Social Sciences I would like to correct the misleading impression given by your report (*THES* June 12, 1981).

No decision to found an academy was taken; it could not be, for many of the representatives of the learned societies had no remit to take such a decision. (Among these representatives were those of the Royal Anthropological Institute; the director - not an academic - and a council member; and those of the Association of Social Anthropologists - the current chairman from Oxford, and past chairman (myself) from LSE). The working party which was set up will present a clearer and more detailed proposal to learned societies for their decision. It cannot pre-empt that decision.

My record of the debate about a possible political role for such an academy does not agree with your report. While it was pointed out that the original proposal was unclear as to its aims and that a political role might be one of them, it was not my understanding that it was agreed that a political role was desirable.

Yours faithfully,
J. LA PONTAINE,
London School of Economics and Political Science.

thing to go by then the restrictions imposed will merely propel universities into the inner sanctums of the ivory tower even more remote from the real problems of the world. The amount of research published would seem a more likely indication of the "worthiness" of current research and certainly more important than the money put into the project. However, this is also a crude measure and the same comment must apply to any attempt to provide a scale based on PhD students who graduate.

Is it too much to suggest that the natural and basic law still that of supply and demand? If students enroll for certain courses at certain places then it is because these courses have a vocational worth and a good academic reputation. If these two criteria are not met then in most institutions these courses will disappear and cease to exist. This is the real basis for both expansion and contraction in universities and polytechnics and is the only signpost that a Government should follow.

Yours faithfully,
D. DOLLIMORE,
Reader in Physical Chemistry, University of Salford.

communications, education, religion, the armed forces. The DES would provide the assessors. The body would be responsible for funding major institutions as well as those parts of minor institutions that came within an agreed definition of HE work. Manpower planning may be impossible but even-handed funding is not.

For that is what will happen if the vested interests win. The shorter money gets - and it may for a while - the more they will squabble. Without a UGC-type body for PSE it will decline and with it any hope that education for decades to come. Whether Tory bosses from the shires, or broad left politicians in the DES, or a combination of such invested interests is to distribute the funding to polytechnics and cognate colleges, is all that they can argue about.

Well, I have taught in a polytechnic since 1971. In the ensuing decade the polytechnics have striven, by dint of devising applied and applicable higher education in both technological and non-technological disciplines, to res-

to be a confusion between such committees and a host of minor panels and working parties. On the other hand, there is a proposal for a united "social sciences academy" which seems in certain lights to reflect a mirror image of the already very vulnerable structure of the SSRC.

The problem evidently lies in what is beginning to look dangerously like a failure of nerve within the SSRC. Its financial troubles compared with those of the Science Research Council do not stem from inadequate administrative rationalization, but from a failure seriously to review the causes of the decline in reputation of the social sciences among well-disposed persons in the last 20 years. In its plans for the subject committees (for example) does the SSRC recognize the important role of the individual subjects in restoring the confidence upon which public finance ultimately depends? The social sciences are, in their present form, a federation of convenience. (Who can name a great "social scientist" - rather than, say, a great geographer, economic historian, social philosopher or anthropologist?) "Over-arching" or "super-subjects," or CBI-like structures, will not greatly help matters. If we are to redraw the map of knowledge, surely it should not come as the result of rearrangements devised at Temple Avenue. The honourable state of studies of humanity is something to demonstrate at our own pace. The urgent first step is to request the SSRC to show its proper confidence in the basic subjects whose training and research it was created to further.

Yours sincerely,
EDWIN ARDEN,
Chairman, Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth, C/o St John's College, Oxford.

Disquiet at the London proposals

Sir, - It was with alarm that I read the account of the second discussion document produced by the Swinnerton-Dyer Committee. Reading the document itself has done nothing to dispel my sense of disquiet and indignation.

Drawing up a "league table" of those institutions that are considered by the committee as "centres of excellence" (445) and those who, by implication are not, constitutes, I feel, a grave injustice to the small schools which, have so far enjoyed a high reputation in many of the subjects taught. It constitutes an injustice not only towards scholars of international renown teaching in these schools, but also towards those excellent young men and women who entered the schools with high qualifications, and who, in competition with candidates from larger high qualifications, and who obtained outstanding results.

Although, in the first instance, the grading of London schools may not be based on any real evidence - and I cannot find any real evidence in the document, supporting it - there is a danger it will become a largely self-fulfilling prophecy. The publicity the league table has received, and the constant rumours of possible closures of small colleges surrounding the work of the committee and leaked to the press have already dealt a severe blow to the prospect of attracting the candidates of high calibre that departments of high reputation can normally look forward to admitting. If, furthermore, the smaller schools are asked to bear more than their fair share of the economies on the grounds that larger institutions are, in the opinion of the committee, the more distinguished ones and should have higher unit incomes (\$11), it needs very little foresight to see that the excellence of many departments in the smaller colleges is in jeopardy.

The university system in this country has long been bedevilled by the erroneous notion that institutions and not individual scholars and teams of scholars possess the rare quality of excellence. To extend this notion to the schools of London University and enshrine it in a report will do nothing to preserve or further the excellence of teaching and research in the universities in Great Britain generally and in London University in particular.

Yours faithfully,
SILVIA RANAWAKE,
Department of German, Bedford College, University of London.

Diploma disease

Sir, - A candidate for whom I am an academic referee has sent me the "further particulars" of the chair in English at the University College of Botswana, as advertised recently in *The THES*. These require that applicants should "have a PhD in English". Do the appointing committee, and the British Council who are assisting recruitment, realize that if this specification were applied across British universities it would have the effect of disqualifying many who have become household names in English studies? Critics like Professor C. B. Cox of Manchester and A. E. Dyson of East Anglia, Professor Frank Kermode and Christopher Ricks of Cambridge, Professor Karl Miller of U.C., and Professor Roger Sharrock of King's, Professor Bernard Bergonzi of Warwick, Professor Laurence Lerner of Sussex, Professor Philip Collins of Leicester - these and dozens more among the English professoriate would be rejected by this new manifestation of the diploma disease. At least two leaders in the field of English language studies, Professor Barbara Strang of Newcastle and Professor John Sinclair of Birmingham, would similarly fail to make the short list. Has the British Council not got a duty to refuse to assist Third World countries to operate in their academic recruitment such palpably absurd and self-defeating specifications for appointment?

Our campaign will, we recognize, be a slow process and some may question whether we have the luxury of time on our side. But we must face realities and appreciate that unless we can re-establish the importance of higher education as a service to individuals, the community and industry, we will never persuade governments of what-over persuasion to invest in it.

Yours faithfully,
J. STANFORD ASTON,
40, Chatterton Hall Crescent, Cambridge.

Union View

Time to wage war against anonymity

It is easy to feel dispirited if one currently works in the education service. It is not merely the cuts and the general retrenchment in the service. Though that is cause for concern, one can see a similar pattern across the whole of the public sector. Suffering from cuts is at least a collective phenomenon. However, what singles out the education service generally, and perhaps higher education in particular, is the dramatic loss of confidence in the service and what it has to offer.

People no longer believe that, in some unspecified way, "education is a good thing". They no longer generally accept that the benefits which the education service provides are worth preserving, let alone fighting for. It is this loss of public confidence in the service which has enabled the present Government to attack it so successfully and to sap its strength of purpose. The continuous barrage of public reports and criticism, which often strikes a responsive chord among sections of the population with their own happy memories of their own or their children's educational experiences, also weakens the morale of those still struggling to provide a balanced education at all levels of the service. Teachers and lecturers sense their lack of public credibility and deeply resent it.

No one would wish to pretend that the education service is not capable of improvement, or that higher education in particular could not be changed for the better. However, the present criticisms of the service are not designed to secure improvement but to demoralize those who should be foremost in resisting the decline of the industry. The Government, for example, sees a

natfhe

decline in higher education as inevitable given the declining numbers of students who will form the 18 to 21 age group in the latter half of the 1980s. Declining student numbers, the Government asserts, will lead to declining demand for the service.

This ignores totally the fact that half of the student population in public sector higher education does not come from this age group, but is composed of mature students. Nonetheless, it is surprising how many people, including many lecturers, are half convinced of the inevitability of decline because of the student numbers argument. Small wonder then that this argument appears logical to so many people.

Natfhe has therefore decided to launch a campaign for higher education. This will not be a typical trade union campaign with marches and lobbies of parliament but rather a promotional campaign aimed at informing not only local and national decision makers, but also - and importantly - the general public of what public sector higher education has to offer and convincing them of its value. The public sector suffers from two factors, known in the advertising industry as a "lack of exposure" and "lack of product identification".

Put in plain language, this means not enough people know of the existence of public sector institutions and often equate higher education with university education. Secondly, having been reminded of the existence of polytechnics or institutes of higher education, they are less than clear about what such institutions do. The very diversity of courses of which the institutions are rightly so proud becomes their Achilles heel, since politicians don't know what they are doing or what they were established to do.

Our campaign will, we recognize, be a slow process and some may question whether we have the luxury of time on our side. But we must face realities and appreciate that unless we can re-establish the importance of higher education as a service to individuals, the community and industry, we will never persuade governments of what-over persuasion to invest in it.

Yours faithfully,
Jean Bocoock,
The author is assistant secretary for higher education of Natfhe.

MP advocates second grants

by Sandra Hempel

People who wish to learn new skills should be eligible for second mandatory grants. Mr Robert Rhodes James, MP, Conservative party liaison officer for higher and further education told a Careers Research and Advisory Centre conference in Cambridge this week.

In a changing society people who had made a false start would need help in moving from one sector of industry to another, he said. At present someone who had had a grant on leaving school was barred from getting another later in life.

"If it is said that we cannot afford it, I point to 2.6 million unemployed. They are not all school leavers or in Northern Ireland," he said.

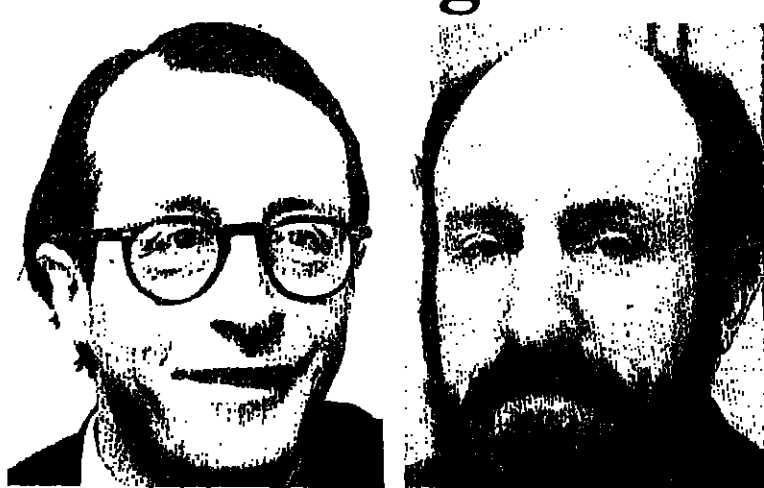
He warned against following short-term industrial needs too slavishly. No one knew what skills would be needed in ten years' time. At the same time, however, the education system had failed to respond to changes that were happening now and that were bound to continue.

Higher education in particular should be more relevant to the problems of society, Mr Rhodes James said. It had always been there and been regarded as important. Now for the first time those in HE were being asked to justify it. Some of them did not realize that HE had few real friends now at national or local level. There was much resentment against what was seen as a privilege for the few.

"I can think of no better way to justify it than to provide a system of retraining and remedial training that is open to all," he said. Unless education could be of more assistance to industry and commerce then its relevance was diminished.

But in asking any government to be more sympathetic to the problems of HE, which were admittedly acute, those in HE had to be more sensitive to the problems of government, industry and commerce. There was room for a lot of improvement in this area.

The call for a broader-based, more flexible approach to HE and FE was endorsed by Mr Phillip Whitehead, the Opposition spokesman for HE. Praising Mr Rhodes James as a sensible



politician, Mr Whitehead compared his views with those of the Under Secretary for Higher Education, Dr Rhodes Boyson. It was interesting to see which "Rhodes" Conservative MPs decided to follow during education debates, Mr Whitehead said.

A future Labour government would have to commit itself to some form of maintenance allowance available to all young people staying in education after the age of 16, he believed.

Britain had a lamentable record in persuading young people to stay in education and the Labour Party felt it should ensure that working-class children had as good a chance at HE and

FE as their middle-class peers. The age group as a whole had to be helped too, not just those who were seen as high-fliers at the age of 14 or 15.

Mr Whitehead wanted to see the HE sector confronting the Government with determination to keep up its numbers of graduates or expand them. "Government expenditure cuts will involve us in a whole series of damaging arguments about how much it costs to buy out individuals, departments and disciplines at a time when we should be thinking about adapting universities and polytechnics to welcome more people into community-based HE and FE."

Staff minimum 'must be set'

Higher education cannot be related to an economic master plan setting out manpower needs for the decade, Mr Richard Pearson of the Institute of Manpower Studies told the CRAC conference.

"What we can do though is to identify some minimum supply from HE below which it will be dangerous for the economy to fall," he said. This would apply mainly to the vocational areas but it should also take account of the needs for numeracy among a much wider part of the graduate population.

It might mean changing grants policies or other initiatives, as places needed to be filled not just made available.

A broader-based first year in HE would also help as would strengthening the opportunities for retraining, further training and continuing education.

"In these times of financial cutbacks and cuts in student numbers, it is crucial that key decision-makers are aware of the longer term implications for the labour market of these changes and the potential damage of some staff cuts.

Redressing scientific balance

by Patricia Santinelli

Senior scientists and technologists would resist positive discrimination for women in their fields, says a report from the National Foundation for Educational Research.

The report, based on a survey of 100 colleges and polytechnics as well as professional and validating bodies says that some heads of departments feel such action is unnecessary because women students in their departments have been of high calibre and motivation.

"Yet it is clear that such students are a highly selected group and not representative of the general female student population," says the report.

This attitude existed, says the report, in unpublished reports commissioned by the Further Education Unit, in spite of the majority of heads believing that lack of scientific skills among women was due not to inherent inability but to "socialising" factors. Such influences could only be removed by greater opportunities for women to attain practical scientific techniques as early as possible.

The survey, conducted by NFER in 1980, was designed to assess how the intake of women on to science and technology courses could be improved and what strategies were needed to ensure their progress.

It concluded that the most positive and immediate results could be obtained through efforts which have been clearly and carefully aimed at women.

Maximum use of successful women science staff should be made as models. Improvements should also be made in departmental outreach provision and course and careers literature, for very often women were not aware of opportunities.

Colleges should offer greater opportunity in the first year of any programme to sample and experience the various fields of science and technology. They should provide access to remedial and tutorial opportunities especially in cases of lack of previous experience and "practical deficit" in the case of manual skills.

The report stresses in its preface that the report has no role only to important issues of equality of access to mainstream science/technology education and training for women, but also gives indicators for education and training strategies to cope with the changing economic, technological industrial scene and the consequent need for a more highly skilled flexible workforce.

A conference on women into engineering organised by the South East Forum whose new president is Sir Monty Finniston was today discussing ways by which more women could be encouraged to take up a profession of science and technology.

Participants were looking at a number of issues such as the implications of the subjects chosen at school at the age of 13-plus, alternative routes into professional engineering and the attitudes of employers to women engineers.

Robbins defends his principle

by Ngau Crequer

The principle that students able and willing to benefit from higher education should be able to do so, was in danger of being abandoned because of the setting of target numbers, Lord Robbins, author of the principle, said last week.

Speaking in a House of Lords debate on higher and further education, Lord Robbins referred to the letter from the University Grants Committee which said that student target numbers would be set for the universities.

"... the letter arouses in my mind the suspicion that the device of target numbers involves ultimately the suspension of the fundamental principle that places should be found in higher education for all those willing and able to benefit from them. If that is so, I regret it very much. I should have thought that the present Government with whose policy in many respects I agree, should be the first Government to abandon it."

However he said he blamed the universities for some of the course they provided. He said that some of the border the majority of courses were aimed at producing potential "finis" and at producing dons. "We must remember that the greater part of the managerial work of the world is done by 'seconds'."

He said one of the conditions of the expansion recommended by his committee was that courses should be broader and this had not been fulfilled. He suggested there should be a continuous body reviewing higher education.

In reply Baroness Young said that although there was likely to be reduction in student numbers, "... there is no necessary connection between UGC target numbers and what has been called... the Robbins principle."

"There are now under-subscribed courses both in universities and polytechnics and the total level of admissions will depend on the extent to which students are prepared to be flexible. It is not yet possible to say whether any suitably qualified student will fail to gain admission to places in higher education."

She said that working groups representing the UGC and local authorities were studying ways of obtaining comparable measures of cost, student load and staffing standards, to reach an accurate view of the distribution and use of resources between the two higher education sectors.

Reductions in staffing were likely as a result of the cuts but it was too early to say to what extent they could be achieved by early retirement or redeployment as opposed to compulsory redundancies.

Lord Crowthor-Hunt said that the Robbins expansion had been disappointing because student choice had played too large a part in the provision of places. "Instead of the great expansion being concentrated on the areas of science and engineering which we ought to have been aiming at... the biggest increase in this great and necessary provision has been in the area of the arts and social sciences."

He said that it was a "total scandal and misdirection of effort" that polytechnics were producing twice as many graduates in the arts and social studies as they were in science, technology and engineering.

Primary help

A pilot scheme to teach science and technology to young pupils involving a liaison between industry and primary schools is to be extended with a grant from the Scottish Economic Planning Department of the Department of Industry.

The £12,000 grant is to go to Professor John Lamb and Dr Judy Wilkinson of Glasgow University's electronics and electrical engineering department, and to Mr Norman Henderson, a primary adviser in Strathclyde regional council.

Under the scheme, second year engineering apprentices assist primary school staff with practical science lessons based on a specially designed kit.

Robin McKie reports from Strathclyde University's biotechnology conference

Threat to biotech of 'talent poachers'

Britain is facing a new brain drain in which our universities' best biotechnological talent is being poached by overseas research centres, a Strathclyde University biotechnology conference was told last week.

But Professor John Smith, head of Strathclyde University's department of applied microbiology, said staff were not leaving to obtain higher salaries but to work in a freer atmosphere and in departments where research was properly funded.

He blamed the Government for failing to respond in any way to the challenges raised by the industrial and scientific potential of biotechnology - the commercial applications of biological systems.

He told the conference, "Biotechnology, A Briefing for Scottish Industry", that the report of Dr Alfred Spinks had recommended strong Government cash injections to properly launch biotechnology in Britain. "We were hoping for support similar to other countries, such as Japan, West Germany, America, Canada and France," said Professor Smith.

Instead the Government in its white paper response to Spinks had "effectively poured cold water" on the whole issue. He described the Government's proposals that the private sector take responsibility for biotechnology funding as mere "bland platitudes."

There was now a feeling of great frustration at universities and he accused the Government of preparing plans in "stark contrast to what the scientific community needs and requires."

Delegates told: think before you jump

A warning of the dangers of rushing into major biotechnological projects without fully considering their consequences, was sounded at the conference by Dr Colin Ratledge of Hull University's biochemistry department.

He told delegates that in Brazil and the United States, major Government-backed programmes had been launched to use microbial systems to convert maize, corn and sugar into alcohols that in turn could be used as supplements for motor fuels. "Now there are huge effluent problems in Brazil because the waste by-products from the processing have simply been dumped in rivers."

In the United States a more complex series of repercussions had been set in motion. By using corn by-products as a major starting point in the microbial conversion of alcohols, more farmers have been encouraged to grow the crop with a consequent reduction in land available for other food production. As a result cotton growers were converting their land to food plant growth to make up for this deficiency, he said.

In turn this meant less cotton was available for clothing manufacture which caused a rise in use of synthetic fibre production - and this meant more use of oil and petrol, the very products which were to be in less demand because of the use of the biotechnological conversion of corn to alcohol.

"Really it requires an act of clairvoyance to see where the ripples will reach when you set in train programmes like these," added Dr Ratledge.

Society 'must meet drugs cost'

Society must be prepared to absorb much more of the cost and responsibility of developing new drugs if research and development programmes are not to be affected, delegates were warned.

Professor John Bu'Lock, of Manchester University's chemistry department, said that what were society's expectations for safe medication that drug companies were being forced to spend up to five years on development and toxicology tests once a new medicine had been discovered.

"The cost can be measured in millions of pounds and the years consumed seriously erode the protection

"It is the old story. We are likely to get good fundamental research in Britain - exploited by other countries. Already our young, and not so young, biotechnologists are being attracted overseas. It is a new brain drain - but they are not going for the salaries but for the freer atmospheres of properly funded research centres," he said.

To set up a proper biotechnology industry in Britain, it was vital to get a fully coordinated input from engineers, chemists, biologists, managers and businessmen. However, after the conference Professor Smith expressed disappointment at the lack of response industry had shown in attending the formation of the Institute for Biotechnology, in general, in the potential of biotechnology for manufacturing new products.

He described the conference as "a new approach towards biotechnology" in which universities had gone out to industry to present a showcase of their technical wares. In future, Strathclyde would continue to present similar events and he expected industry would eventually take far greater interest.

However Professor Smith also had some critical words for universities.

He warned that biotechnology was an interdisciplinary science, in which students should ideally study engineering and later specialize in biology - or vice versa. He felt there was a general consensus amongst recent developments at some universities to establish degrees purely in biotechnology. Graduates, he felt, would be seen as either diluted engineers or diluted biologists. Instead they should concentrate on one discipline before specializing in the other, he said.

Indeed in Britain there was also less potential for the use of microbes to convert agricultural by-products into alcohols to supplement fuels. Instead municipal domestic waste looked like being the best source for such processes and current research at Government centres was aimed at this, he said.

Dr Ratledge also urged businessmen to take up the task of turning the fundamental research breakthroughs of academics into viable commercial ventures. "It now requires businessmen who know their fields of interest to point the way. You cannot ask microbiologists or biochemists to do that."

Academics have set up shop and shown their goods. If industry cannot take advantage of that now, then they never will.

The major UK companies had begun to appreciate the potential of biotechnology, he acknowledged. It was the middle to small firms that had not sustained interest.

One problem was that large sums of money were required to set up biotechnology plants - between £10m and £20m in some cases - and Dr Ratledge suggested that development agencies, such as the Scottish Development Agency, could set up tripartite deals between themselves, universities and small firms to get new projects launched.



Birmingham helps bridge the industrial archaeology gap

Birmingham University and the Ironbridge Gorge Museum collaborated this week to launch the Institute of Industrial Archaeology.

Together they will offer the first postgraduate qualification in the subject, a diploma, and also a wide range of short courses for professionals in the field and for the public, as well as a wide research programme.

Dr Neil Crosson, director of the museum said on the formation of the Institute: "For too long industrial archaeology has been seen as a part-time activity which has never done very well. The Institute is an indication that the subject has now grown up, that it is being taken seriously,

and that its practitioners are preparing themselves to tackle the problems of the closing years of this century."

The diploma course will be based at Ironbridge which has long been an international focus for students of industrial archaeology, as well as for the public. The museum's resources include the Elton collection of paintings and prints formed by the late Sir Arthur Elton. The bridge itself over the river Severn near Coalbrookdale, was erected in 1779, and was the first ever made only of cast iron. The span of the arch is 100 feet six inches, its height 40 feet, the width of the roadway 24 feet and the weight of iron 378 tons.

Architecture school in awards row

by Paul Flather

The Architectural Association, which runs Britain's only independent architecture school founded in 1847, has accused the Government of acting "politically" when deciding not to make mandatory awards to home students on its courses.

Mr Alvin Boyarsky, chairman of the association, said this week there could be no financial justification for the decision which discriminated against a highly cost-effective and efficient school with an undisputed academic reputation.

His remarks followed a Government

decision announced last week in a House of Commons written reply that the school's diploma courses would not be designated for mandatory awards because of expenditure cuts. The school lost its mandatory awards status in 1972, and had appealed for them to be re-instated.

Mr Boyarsky said: "We are bitterly disappointed and would not have expected this kind of decision from this Conservative Government. This cannot be a financial decision. After 10 years of effort we will have to reassess the future of the school."

He warned that the school would be forced to develop a strong foreign outlook as fewer and fewer British

students were able to pay the fees, although they wanted to. Already the proportion of foreign students at the London school has increased from 40 per cent in 1972 to 70 per cent in 1980.

The school has 434 students with fees currently £2,100 a year, rising next year to £2,850. They are reckoned to be much cheaper than estimated equivalent costs courses in the university and state system.

The Government decision was made in spite of an extremely favourable report from an independent panel of nominees from the association and from the Government submitted last February. The school has a high reputation of "experimental work."

Lecturers attack NHS ban

Government plans to exclude overseas students from treatment under the National Health Service may impose an intolerable burden on their lecturers and counsellors, the Association of Polytechnic Teachers has warned.

In a letter to Mr Patrick Jenkin, Secretary of State for Health, APT says there is already considerable pressure both on lecturers and student services because of students' personal problems. But if students became ill at least the medical services could now be brought in without complication.

Ministers are still considering the implications of a plan which means that all overseas visitors including students will be excluded from NHS treatment.

"If students do not have adequate coverage by the medical services, then the work load and emotional strain which may be imposed on lecturers, tutors and counsellors - all of whom must feel to some extent to be *in loco parentis* - could be considerable if not intolerable," APT has told Mr Jenkin.

The 3,000 member association told Mr Jenkin that admission of overseas

students to polytechnic courses should not depend on proof of adequate medical insurance.

"The institution would likely be incapable of deciding, in an individual case, whether coverage was adequate or not," APT says.

Consultation on the Government proposals is continuing, with no response likely within the month. Representatives from the United Kingdom Council for Overseas Student Affairs have been assured that, if implemented, the policy will be applied flexibly.

APT suggests that overseas students paying full cost fees could be treated as if they were workers under the proposed regulations, with the fee reckoned to include a notional insurance element of about £150 to cover medical expenses.

"The fact that the full cost fee is around £3,000 should dissuade anyone from seeking entry to the medical service by this means for the treatment of pre-existing conditions."

Employers asked to accept validity of newer subjects

A proposal to urge higher education and employers into accepting new subjects such as electronics on equal terms with the more traditional disciplines was being debated by the Schools Council convocation, this week.

This proposal is one of a long list of objectives outlined in a Schools Council paper on the education and training of 16 to 19-year-olds which indicates that the council is making a determined bid for a greater role in this area than it has hitherto played.

The council believes for example that pressure on the higher education system might change admission tutors' attitudes and lead them to give greater

credit to the very demanding project work which forms part of A level syllabus for design and technology.

It also intends to press for the introduction of the proposed intermediate level examination as a means of broadening the curriculum, as well as seek a requirement that examination syllabuses be updated at regular and agreed intervals.

Members also plan to adapt and develop both its industry and Skills for Employment projects so as to make them suitable for the 16-19 age group, as well as promote and support studies of how existing subjects such as geography could contribute to pre-employment courses.

Cuts threaten Glaswegian research plans

The cuts in university budgets will lead to the loss of 1,000 jobs and 2,500 student places at Glasgow and Strathclyde universities, a delegation from the two universities told MPs this week.

The delegation, representing 7,500 academic, technical, secretarial and manual staff, met groups of Labour and Conservative west of Scotland MPs at Westminster to seek their support in opposing Government plans to cut university finance.

The total cut of 15 per cent, the result of a direct cut in Government grants and an indirect cut from the fall in numbers of overseas students, they told MPs, was four times the average cut in public expenditure.

The effect would be particularly damaging at Glasgow and Strathclyde, they argued, in an area with a higher than average unemployment level and inadequate provision of non-university higher education.

Delegates added that several research projects of great value to the community will be under severe risk from the cuts. These include a North Sea oil production project at Glasgow University, the investigation into safety aspects of Scottish fishing vessels at Strathclyde, and the universities' joint project which has resulted in the development of a method of producing human antibodies which can be used to treat otherwise incurable diseases.

The prospective cuts will foster an atmosphere of retrenched elitism, according to a document just published by the Glasgow branch of the Council for Academic Freedom and Democracy.

It argues that higher education institutions should become more open and make their teaching and research resources available to the community at large at a time of rising unemployment and a reduced working week.

Save Leicester Foundation Studies in Art and Design.



Essayists share £3,000 in prizes

Almost £3,000 in prizes was this week presented by British Leyland chairman Sir Michael Edwards to winners of The Times engineering essay competition. Top of the undergraduate section was Andrew Bud; of Christ's College, Cambridge, who received £500. Students from South Bank Polytechnic won three out of the five £50 consolation prizes.

Entrants were asked to say in 750 words what they expected engineering to contribute in the next 30 years to the country's prosperity.

In the undergraduate section, the two runners up who received £250, were Michael Bonjamins, of Churchill College, Cambridge, and Alexander Stephen, of Glasgow University. The five consolation prize winners were: Martin King, S. J. Mansfield, and Katherine Williams, all of South Bank Polytechnic; E. Bonedict, of Imperial College, London; and Sub-Lieutenant Jeremy Tuck, of the Royal Naval Engineering College, Plymouth.

This would involve a minimum youth wage, and drastic changes in the methods of assessment, primarily the examination system. Local bodies would be set up to coordinate the

Motion threatens to split unions

Proposals adopted last weekend by the Socialist Educational Association for radical changes in provision for 19 to 19-year-olds herald future conflict between the two main teaching unions concerned.

A motion composed from resolutions passed at the annual general meeting of the SEA, held in Leeds, will be put to the Labour Party conference in September. But, although there was unanimity on the need for reform of the present mode of sixth-form education, delegates were split on how a tertiary system should be organized and who should be responsible for it.

The motion calls for the traditional sixth form and technical colleges to be replaced by an open unified and comprehensive tertiary system of education training and employment for the 16 to 19 age range.

This would involve a minimum youth wage, and drastic changes in the methods of assessment, primarily the examination system. Local bodies would be set up to coordinate the

system. A clause from the London region SEA said that part time and adult work should also make a large contribution to the atmosphere of post-16 education.

The tertiary system laid out in the motion would have an enormous impact on the status and career opportunities of teachers and would probably involve a complete re-negotiation of Burnham.

But Mr Mick Farley, education officer of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, who drew up the main body of the motion, felt that falling rolls and rising unemployment requires the setting up of some kind of policy to take before the Labour Party now, despite any shortcomings it might have.

Mr Dave Pickton, a National Union of Teachers member of the SEA from Greenwich Lewisham, called for the motion to be remitted to the NEC for a year to work out a clearer and less problematic policy.

"The potential of divide between my

union and Mick Farley's union is a pressing matter," he said. "Cooperation between the sixth forms and colleges does not work."

He said they needed to spell out exactly what a tertiary system would mean.

Mrs Caroline Benn, president of the SEA, said that the motion would provide a set of guidelines for future discussions for the Labour Party.

The University Grants Committee was criticized as "nothing more than an executive arm of the Government instructing the universities where to make their cuts," at the SEA conference.

The accusation came from Mr Rupert Baker, national treasurer to the National Organization of Labour Students who had been invited as a guest speaker.

He appealed for an appreciation of the damage government cutbacks in higher education were having on the community.

North American news

Harmony reached on southern race issue

from Clive Cookson
WASHINGTON

Demonstrating the Reagan administration's preference for "incentives" over "coercion" to achieve racial integration, the US Education Department has negotiated a settlement with the government of North Carolina in the bitter 11-year legal battle to desegregate public colleges and universities.

North Carolina is one of more than a dozen southern states that once had different systems of higher education for blacks and whites, which were kept separate by law. (The most prestigious state universities were all white and enjoyed much better facilities than the black colleges.) Today, nearly 30 years after the Supreme Court ruled that enforced segregation was unconstitutional, and almost 20 years after Congress decided to make active integration a national policy, the public colleges that were once exclusively for blacks retain mainly black enrolments, while few blacks have penetrated the top state universities of the south.

The persistence of segregated higher education galled civil rights groups, notably the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to sue the US government.

They wanted Washington to force the integration of public colleges and universities in the south, by withdrawing federal education funds from states that did not pursue desegregation actively. Since 1970 several federal judges have ruled in favour of the NAACP, and Education Department is now under court order to ensure that certain states develop and implement adequate integration plans.

Although the desegregation of higher education has never raised quite such strong emotions as school busing, some of the cases have poisoned relations between the Education Department and state governments. The North Carolina dispute has probably been the most bitter of all, and it is certainly the one where the feds have come closest to carrying out their threat to cut off educational aid (which would have cost North Carolina \$90m a year).

The agreement with North Carolina, which Education Secretary Terrell Bell announced last week, is a sign that the Reagan administration wants to settle the other cases as soon as possible. However the state and federal governments cannot just work out a deal on their own; all desegregation plans must be approved by the court dealing with



These Georgian children expect a brighter future.

the case, after the NAACP has had its say.

That veteran civil rights organisation has not yet said whether it is prepared to accept the North Carolina plan. The agreement is weaker than the Carter administration was willing to approve, and the NAACP is unlikely to go along with it, unless the association's lawyers decide that it is the best arrangement they can realistically hope for now that the federal government is in republican hands and the country's political mood has swung sharply to the right.

Under the terms of the agreement, North Carolina will pump more financial and educational resources into its five black colleges. Twenty-nine new "high demand" academic programmes will be established there, which Dr Bell said would attract a greater number of white students.

The target is for white enrolment at the black colleges to increase from the present 11.2 per cent to 15 per cent by 1986/87, while the proportion of black students at the white institutions goes up from 7.4 per cent to 10.6 per cent. However Dr Bell emphasized that these "goals" are flexible, and failure to achieve them would not necessarily violate the agreement. "This flexibility on the goals will insure that they are

not interpreted as rigid quotas at some in the future," he said.

The education secretary contrasted his approach - to leave the better-equipped white institutions alone while trying to build up the black colleges - with the alleged attempt of the previous administration to impose rigid enrolment quotas for each race and to make white institutions less attractive by closing down some of their programmes.

The University of North Carolina consistently rejected the demands of the Education Department under President Carter that it eliminate "unnecessary duplication of programmes" between black and white campuses, as a violation of its academic freedom. Washington could not usurp control over its academic programmes, the university board of governors argued.

Officials from the state and federal governments worked out details of the agreement at secret talks in Washington, which were started at the instigation at North Carolina's republican senator Jesse Helms.

Last month the US Commission on Civil Rights, an independent watchdog agency, called on the Education Department to make a more vigorous effort to desegregate colleges and

universities - an appeal that seemed particularly futile in the current political climate. The commission said the department under President Carter relied "too heavily on commitments that states will act to end segregation", even though experience had shown that reliance on specific affirmative steps must be mandated if the effects of past discrimination are to be overcome.

In January, just before the change in administration, the Education Department told six more states - Alabama, Delaware, South Carolina, West Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri - that their systems of higher education retained an illegal degree of racial segregation, and they were ordered to produce acceptable desegregation plans.

To judge from the North Carolina experience, the proposals will not need to be very tough to pass muster with the Reagan administration. Last week William Reynolds, President Reagan's nominee to lead the Justice Department's civil rights division (which works with the Education Department on these matters) told a senate committee that other higher education desegregation cases would be examined by the same principles.

University fights for women only

Mississippi University for Women is fighting a desperate legal battle to retain its status as the last exclusively female public college in the United States.

The Fifth US Circuit Court of Appeals ruled last week that MUW violated the constitutional rights of a male applicant, Joe Hogan, when it refused to admit him to its nursing school.

But the Mississippi attorney-general's office, which is trying to save the university from enforced coeducation, has not exhausted the stock of legal manoeuvres that it could employ to prevent Mr Hogan enrolling in its Autumn, when the new academic year begins. One possibility is an appeal to the US Supreme Court.

The Fifth Circuit Court accepted Mr Hogan's argument that MUW, which is situated in his home town of Columbus, is the only state college that could attend without undue financial hardship. He would have to give up his job and move his family to enrol at either of the two coeducational institutions offering nursing courses in Mississippi.

The court held that "the maintenance of MUW as the only state-supported single-sex collegiate institution in a state cannot be squared with the constitution" under current American law, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, sex discrimination by a public institution is permissible only if it is "substantially related to an important governmental objective"; that was not true of the women-only status of MUW, the court decided.

Mississippi University for Women, founded nearly 100 years ago, was the first public college established exclusively for women. A dozen others were set up later, but all of them accepted at least some men during the great era of coeducation that washed over American higher education during the 1960s and early 1970s.

Texas Woman's University is the only one, apart from MUW, which retains a strongly female identity. It does accept men in its graduate school and on undergraduate courses in the health sciences, including nursing. The other undergraduate programmes at TWU are strictly for women.

TWU spokeswoman Audrey Tittle pointed out that her institution was vulnerable to the sort of legal challenge that MUW is facing. That is because coeducational college, North Texas State University, is located in the same town, Denton. Outside the health sciences it offers the same range of undergraduate courses as the women's university, so local male students could not argue that they are being deprived of educational opportunities. And in the field where North Texas State does not offer comparable programmes - health and the various postgraduate courses - TWU will admit them.

Nevertheless TWU could still be vulnerable to a legal challenge to its all-female programmes. A man who wanted to study fine arts there recently threatened to sue, but he has not followed up with legal action. "We're women's university, we're devoted towards the needs of women and we intend to stay that way," said Ms Tittle.

Her counterpart at Mississippi University for Women, Margaret Henry, said the trustees who govern the eight public colleges and universities in Mississippi remain convinced that MUW should continue to resist coeducation. So do most senior faculty members and alumnae. (There is a sentimental attachment that the college should retain its identity at least until the centenary celebrations in 1984/85.)

However Mrs Henry acknowledged that there was a feeling among many of the townspeople of Columbus that "we're an anachronism now". They believe that a coeducational institution might be larger and better for trade. "Some of the younger students probably would like the university to go coeducational too," she added.

Over the past five years private women's colleges have been undergoing a strong revival, and their total enrolment today is 101,000, up about 15 per cent since 1970.

Overseas news

Cuts causing fall in standards, say v-cs

from Geoff Maslen
MELBOURNE

The Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee has delivered an unprecedented attack on the federal government for setting funding guidelines which the committee claims will lead to a decline in standards.

The guidelines, issued by the government last month, provide for a small reduction in grants to universities and colleges but they also represent a rejection of advice from the Tertiary Education Commission for more money for buildings.

The vice-chancellors were "extremely concerned" and they condemned the failure of the government to implement what they call the "austere recommendations" of the commission. There will be an effective reduction of funds for universities. The vice-chancellors claim, at a time when the quality of higher education is under threat. Continuation of present funding levels for the next three years will seriously impair the capacity of many universities to maintain standards and to fulfil properly their teaching and

research functions. That no longer seems to be the case. The vice-chancellors were not only highly critical of the governments decision on future grants but also of its decision to introduce tuition fees for second and higher qualifications. They urged the government to reverse its decision. Tuition fees would provide a serious "disincentive" for postgraduate students while eroding the research function of universities.

The vice-chancellors called on the government to put a moratorium on a proposal to introduce a student loan scheme and to make changes to the present tertiary assistance scheme. The scheme should be widened to include all student financing, the vice-chancellors said. "National interests demand that proper incentives be provided to encourage able students to enter higher education and to encourage the ablest to pursue postgraduate studies."

Engineering shortage

from James Hutchinson

Israel 'on time bomb'

from Benny Morris

West Germany, despite its high unemployment, has a serious shortage of graduate engineers. Although the number of students has risen in the past decade by around 40 per cent to more than a million the proportion of students taking natural science or engineering courses continues to fall.

The trend is particularly marked in West Berlin where 1,890 students started engineering courses last autumn, compared with 2,170 in 1972. There were also fewer people studying mathematics, physics and chemistry. In North Rhine Westphalia, the country's most populous state, some 3,500 places in the engineering faculties were not filled.

Educationists say that the main cause of this development is the "reform" of the upper grades of the *Gymnasium*, the grammar school, which enables pupils to drop such tiresome subjects as maths and physics in favour of something less demanding. Another reason is that many young people are opting for relatively safe jobs in the public services, where other qualifications are required, rather than for more risky careers in industry.

There is relatively little contact between students and industry. Many university professors are engaged in advise industrial concerns, but few use this connexion to enable their students to see what happens on the shop floor. And student groups that do visit firms are frequently shown only a public relations facade.

Many graduates with qualifications sought by industry prefer to accept academic appointments, but as one personnel chief put it: "Those people looking for a high rise career and who

Just days after the raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor outside Baghdad, the heads of the country's institute of technology warned that Israel is sitting on a "technological timebomb of its own making."

Speaking to local newsmen, Haifa Technion president Amos Horev and his deputy for academic affairs, Professor Ya'acov Ziv, warned that Israel was not producing enough engineers "to assure the country's progress, economic independence and technological edge over our enemies."

The country's youngsters to study engineering and the natural sciences have severely declined, in recent years pointing out that whereas in the 1950s some 75 per cent of Israel's university students studied engineering and natural sciences. The proportion now stands at about 25-30 per cent. He added that many of the best graduates today go off to lucrative jobs in industry rather than continue at the universities as teachers and researchers.

At the moment, the Technion, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and Tel-Aviv University annually produce only some 1,400 engineers, a figure which will stay constant for another eight or nine years. Mr Horev said that this number is insufficient to carry out the government's development plans.

Mr Horev and Professor Ziv blamed the government for not encouraging youngsters to choose careers in the sciences. Mr Horev said: "The education ministry is making it easier for high schoolers to get their BAGRUVI (matriculation) certificates without trying to study physics, chemistry and biology on a proper level."

Mexico begins research

from Emil Zubryn
CUERNAVACA

For the first time Mexico's universities are to initiate educational research. The goal is to update curricula, activities and teaching methods, according to Antonio Chavez Ayala, director of the regional centre of Educational Technology (affiliated to the University of Guadalajara).

Representatives of all regional universities have unanimously agreed that institutions not conducting educational research will remain on the sidelines as far as scientific and technological progress is concerned. More important, according to Chavez Ayala, is that didactic systems can become obsolete, affecting academic teaching standards

and learning ability of students.

Chavez Ayala said that efforts will be made to link research and teaching in academic courses. The main point of the current decision to establish planning processes in educational research is to pinpoint objectives, strategies and goals in providing up-to-date instruction for students. As a first step an evaluation seminar has been arranged by the regional centre in Guadalajara. This will also have the sponsorship of the Ministry of Education which will help in supervising coordinated programmes in educational investigation by the regional universities. One of the major projects during the meetings will be the establishment of courses for general research in productive sectors.

New boost for French science

From Guy Neave

PARIS
Considerable changes in the structure and priorities for scientific research are foreseen following the change of government.

Jean Pierre Chevènement, an ex-student of the Ecole Nationale d'Administration - France's highly-reputed Civil Service College - and one of the brightest stars in the socialist firmament, has been nominated to head the new ministry for research and technology. This marks an important upgrading in the priority of scientific research. Under Giscard d'Estaing, scientific research held relatively minor significance. Secretary of State, M. Pierre Aigrain, oversaw it and was answerable to the Prime Minister's office.

One of the incoming minister's first tasks will be to draw up a new research budget. A second will be to review the structure and organization of France's major research institutions. The socialist manifesto calls for a major injection of funds into research. Current estimates suggest that, if their plans are borne out, an additional FFrs 15,000,000,000 will be available for scientific research.

In a speech to the senate last April, M. Mitterrand called for a greater share of the GNP to be devoted to research. The new government's target is that by 1985, 2.5 per cent of the GNP should be set aside for this activity. The targets set by the Giscardians were for 2.3 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product to be allocated to research by 1988.

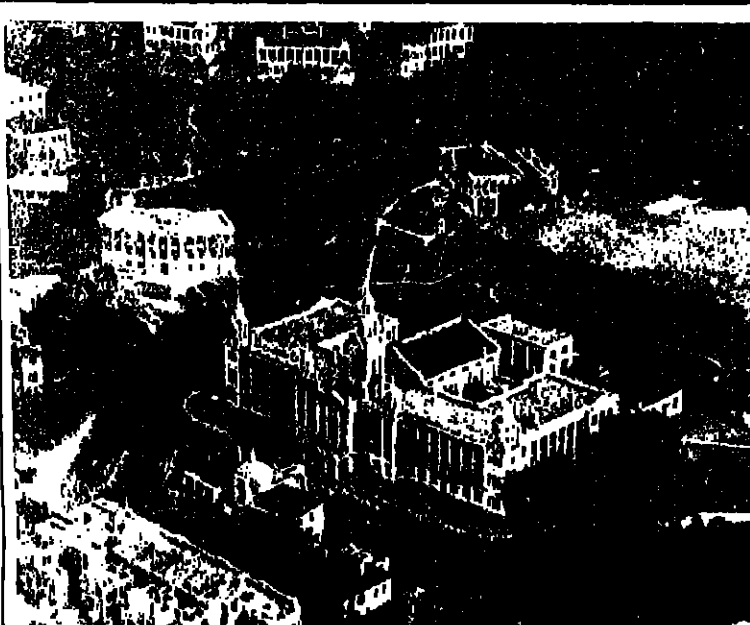
Crucial decisions have still to be made on whether the additional investment should be aimed at improving the conditions of service, boosting the recruitment of researchers and bettering their career prospects. It could also be set aside for investment in new plant, equipment and research establishments.

Under the previous government, the main accent was on conditions of service and on greater mobility of research personnel between the public and the private sectors of industry. One of the major stumbling blocks to the fruitful interchange between public and private sector in France is that researchers are, legally, public employees.

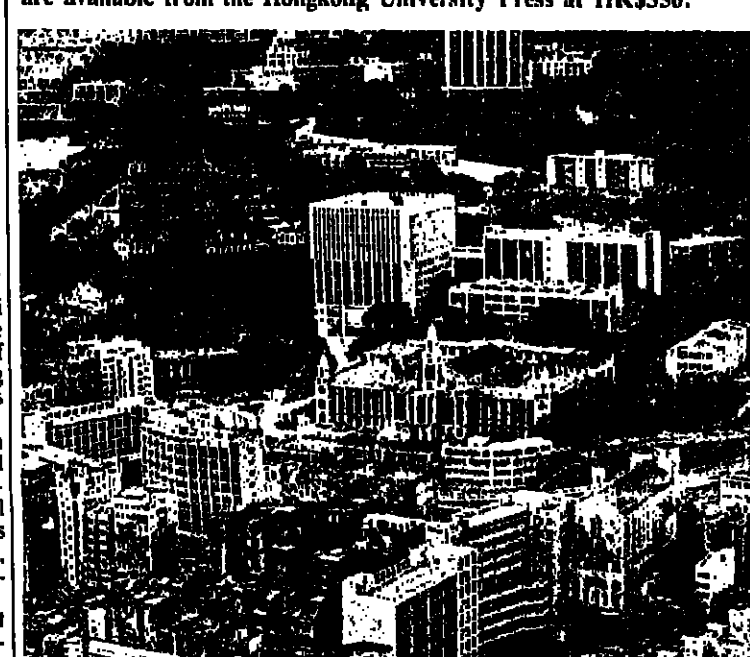
The most important task for the new minister will be to bring together and impose a coherent policy upon institutions which previously have been split up between different and often conflicting ministries - education, industry, agriculture etc.

According to President Mitterrand, the role of the ministry of research and technology will be to act as a main coordinating body and to strengthen its role as initiator. No less important will be its role of firming up and rationalizing the links between research and industry.

As part of the overall structural reorganization, the main research funding and policy making body, the Delegation Generale a la Recherche Scientifique et Technique, will be broken up and incorporated into the new ministry. Other changes are also foreseen, principally in the area of "big science" research - at present under the ministry of industry. It will be re-grouped under the ministry of technology.



The changing face of the University of Hongkong has been traced through a two-volume "informal history" by Mr Bernard Mellor. Pictured here are two views of the main estate of the university 40 years apart - first in 1933 (above) and then in 1973. Publication of the history marks the 70th anniversary of the institution, which grew out of the Hongkong College of Medicine and now has 5,500 students and 500 lecturers. The two volumes are available from the Hongkong University Press at HK\$350.



Teachers lose jobs gamble

from Annelise Hopson
COPENHAGEN

Four hundred new Masters of Arts will not be able to find a job as grammar school teachers nor will they be able to receive normal unemployment benefit.

They have all been unlucky in lots for autumn's six-months course for diploma in education. Without this diploma they cannot be permanently employed within the field of higher education.

The entrance exam which limits the admission is part of the government's economic measures. Out of a total of 700 newly graduated, only 300 will be able to start the course.

The Organization of Grammar School Teachers, OGST, is of the opinion that the restricted admission is a clear breach of the current agreement with the ministry of finance. Arbitration on this will take place this month. The issue was hotly debated last year

and it had been decided to submit the matter to arbitration but the very day before it was to take place, the OGST received a letter from the ministry of education saying there would be no restricted admission.

The ministry of education worked on the case and had a Bill on restricted admission passed in Parliament. The National Union of Danish Students DSF, has protested against the new restricted admission exam.

Secretary of the DSF, Mr Anders Ladegaard says: "I do not believe it can be legal that a qualified candidate is deprived of the possibility of graduating. He/she has undergone privations and has had to contract debts in order to get his final."

The Conservative MP, Mrs Karen Hootje Jensen, has asked the minister of education, Mrs Dorthe Bennedixen, that the drawing of lots is replaced by real requirements in qualification.

Businessmen must pay for course

The first fee-levying course in any university in Sri Lanka since the introduction of free education a quarter of a century ago starts at the University of Colombo next September. It is a diploma course in business and public administration for executives and top level managers in the public and private sectors. A one-year intensive course leading to a diploma will be conducted in the evenings.

The requirement for admission is a minimum of three years executive experience for attorneys, chartered accountants, chartered architects and chartered secretaries etc. A course fee of Rs 5,000 (£125) will be charged.

Rewriting the history books

from A. S. Abraham
BOMBAY

Delhi University is in the throes of an academic rumour over the revision of the long-outdated history honours syllabus. Not all the hullahabab was confined to the ivory-towers; one student group threatened to burn "anti-national". Marxist-oriented texts, while its rival held out dire warnings of retribution.

The controversy was caused by the history department's decision, subsequently endorsed by all university bodies, including the academic council, to include three options in the new syllabus: the history of the USSR (the history of the USA is already a part of

the syllabus), national liberation movements in Asia and Africa, and twentieth century socialist revolutions.

A new teachers' body, the Indian National Teachers' Congress, affiliated to Mrs Gandhi's Congress (I) party, protested against these courses to the vice-chancellor and urged him to withhold approval of the new syllabus. They objected especially to two texts prescribed for study, Ranji Palme-Dutt's *India Today* and A. R. Desai's *Social Background of the Indian National Movement*, both radical-left interpretations (Mr Palme-Dutt was for long a leading British communist).

At the insistence of the vice-chancellor the syllabus was sent back to the drawing-board.

Health chief bows out

Donald Fredrickson, director of the National Institutes of Health since 1975, has surprised the biomedical research community by resigning. Dr Fredrickson, who is 56, was appointed by President Ford and kept on by President Carter, and President Reagan was all set to announce that he too would be happy for the successful administrator to remain at his post.

Dr Fredrickson, whose professional life has been devoted to NIH since he joined in 1953 as a heart and blood researcher, said he was leaving because of a general feeling that he had been a senior administrator for long enough - not, as some rumours suggested, because he was unhappy with the policies of the Reagan administration. He will spend a few months as a resident scholar at the National Academy of Sciences.

The NIH, whose research budget exceeds \$3 billion a year, has thrived under Dr Fredrickson's leadership. He has wooed Congress and successive administrations successfully for more funds, and has dealt with problems - for example the controversy over genetic engineering - by skillful and imaginative diplomacy.

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Pay now, study later plan for hard-up Californians

Parents of the young men and women who have been accepted by the University of Southern California for admission next autumn are being invited to write the university a cheque for \$24,600.

That will buy them a four-year undergraduate education at the 1981/82 tuition rate of \$6,150 a year, and guarantee that they are not hit by the sharp annual tuition fee increases that private universities are expected to introduce in the years ahead.

This innovative tuition prepayment plan is not just for the fortunate few who can come up with \$24,600 in cash. For USC has arranged for four Californian banks to lend money to parents who want to take advantage of the scheme but do not have enough ready assets.

Peter Cheung, treasurer of the Los Angeles-based university, explains that the plan can work to the mutual advantage of the parents and the institution. The benefit to USC is obvious: it gains an immediate and large inflow of funds. The university's financial staff believe they can invest those so as to obtain a return even greater than the anticipated annual increases in tuition fees.

The plan is advantageous to parents - or at least to those in higher income brackets - because all interest payments on loans are deductible from American income tax. Parents who borrowed from one of the four participating banks, using their home as collateral would have to pay about 18 per cent a year at today's interest rates.

But, if they were in the 40 per cent income tax bracket, the deduction would reduce their effective interest rate to 10.8 per cent a year. Most parents expect tuition fees at private universities to increase faster than that over the next four years.

The same sort of calculation applies in reverse to wealthy parents who have \$24,600 in cash and do not need to borrow. If they invest it well, in something that will bring in an income of 18 per cent a year, they will keep only 10.8 per cent of that after tax (again assuming they are in the 40 per cent bracket). If they believe tuition at USC will rise at a faster rate, they would hand the money over to the university, which - being a tax-exempt institution - need not give any of its income to the government.

Mr Cheung, who comes from Hong Kong, said USC made the "very conservative estimate" that 100 parents would take advantage of the tuition prepayment plan in its first year. But he thought the total could turn out to be considerably larger.

There was no experience elsewhere to judge from. Mr Cheung said, because USC's prepayment plan was the first of its kind, so far as he knew.

What happens if a student whose parents have prepaid four years tuition drops out or transfers to another university? Mr Cheung says USC will then refund the unused years' tuition at the original rate. If a student left USC after one year, for example, his parents would get back \$18,450 (\$24,600 minus \$6,150).

Court rules on draft limits

Military conscription can constitutionally be limited to men, the US Supreme Court has ruled. It upheld last year's decision by Congress to leave out women when it revived draft registration for 18- and 19-year-olds.

The case has aroused great interest on American campuses, both for its obvious importance for students and because it has far-reaching implications for women's rights generally.

The Supreme Court decision, reached by a 6-3 majority, was expected. Supporters of a male-only draft said that if the justices had voted the other way, overruling Congress, they would in effect have broadened the American constitution to give equal rights to women, making unnecessary the proposed Equal Rights Amendment; the prospects that the ERA will be ratified by the required 38 states before its time runs out next year are becoming remote.

William Rehnquist, the conservative justice who wrote the majority opinion, declared: "We cannot ignore Congress' broad authority enforced by the constitution to raise and support armies when we are urged to declare unconstitutional its studied choice of one alternative in preference to another for furthering that goal."

Judith Steinhilber, a political scientist at the University of Southern California who has specialized in the position of women in the military, said the ruling would reinforce the determination of the top brass in the Pentagon not to let women make any further progress into the ranks of the volunteer army.

As Bob Dylan visits Britain, Alan Franks finds the born again rock hero has his band of believers among intellectuals

With Bob on His side

Almost 20 years ago a very literary schoolmaster in North London heard a terrible noise coming from his teenage son's bedroom. He went upstairs to find the lad sitting on his bed, rant. He should have been doing his Latin homework instead of listening to the coarse droning that was coming from the turntable.

The old man, who had a solemn turn of mind, looked down at the LP sleeve, which had the picture of a rather wan street urchin, listened for a few seconds, and, before leaving, said: "He looks like a Dickens crossing sweeper, and sounds like a sheep in pain."

He has probably not recanted since. But it might please him to know that that kind of critical judgement, however dismissive and the germ of a respect and seriousness that was to be visited on Bob Dylan's work for the next two decades.

He might also be interested to learn that he could read, in a 1980 collection of critical essays called *Conclusions on The Wall*, a piece by Wilfrid Mellers, former literary critic of *Scrutiny* and later professor of music at York University, bearing no less a title than "God, Mode and Meaning in Some Recent Songs of Bob Dylan." Having digested that he could move onto something lighter in the same volume: possibly "Bob Dylan and the Protest Movement of the 1960s," by Louis Untch, associate professor of history at Indiana University, or "Prince Hamlet and the Minstrel Boy," by William T. Lhamon Junior, associate professor of English literature at Florida State University.

Would the teacher, now happily retired and illuminating the work of his own heroes in literary periodicals, have been tempted to return to the "text"? Probably not, for on the 25-odd albums that have been released in the intervening years he would have been kept at bay by the same cultural impediment he found in his son's bedroom: the sandpaper tongs, the tortured vowels, and the other evidence of some incoherent, unimpaired suffering in the night.

Yet Dylan, far more than any other writer of popular lyrics this century (and that must include Coward, Porter, Hart, Berlin, Cohen, Lennon/McCartney), has demanded and got the respectful ear of a substantial minority of the intelligentsia. Ten years ago he was awarded an honorary degree at Princeton, a ceremony which

he remembers with an eerie surrealism in "The Day of the Locusts." He has been put up, by no means facetiously, as a candidate for the Oxford poetry chair. As long ago as 1966 *The New Statesman* was talking about his harmonica playing as "a stylised moan." He was honoured with almost a page of extended quotation from "A Hard Rain's Gonna Fall" in Bernard Levin's digest of the 1960s, *The Pendulum Years*. Tom Stoppard admits to liking the rhyme scheme in "Subterranean Homesick Blues" and, most valued of all by well educated British fans, Christopher Ricks, professor of English at Cambridge, talks admiringly about his poetic technique, pointing for example to the feminine endings in the verse lines of "The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll." "We seem to have come an infinite distance from moonshine and a danceable tempo."

Inevitably the songs have attracted the lunatic fringe of studentship, most notably in America. There was a strand of "thought" that you had to listen to certain of the words backwards to get the full meaning, and of course the pursuit of "garbology", which meant going through the poor man's trash cans to get a proper idea of where he was at. More seriously, there have been at least two full PhDs and six masters degrees on Dylan, as well as some 100 higher education literature courses dwelling totally or partially on his work.

The fact is that Robert Zimmerman from Hibbing, Minnesota, is a complete maverick. Had he not used the medium of popular song it is likely, in the view of many academics, that he could have been a perfectly decent "legitimate" poet, if not a Lowell then at least a Ginsberg. But that is a monstrous hypothesis, since the phrasing, the chording and the instrumental punctuation are indivisible from the poetry. More importantly, the sense of tradition of which he is so obviously aware is one that takes in Woody Guthrie and Leadbelly as surely as it does Kerouac and Mark Twain.

Some of the most durable songs are masterpieces of narrative compression, flashing across like condensed novels: the car breaks down... he takes a job on a fishing boat near Delacroix... the two of them have fallen out... now they're living in a basement in Montague Street, where

there's music in the cafes and revolution in the air. Or else there's a boxer (a real one, Ruben "Hurricane" Carter) doing time for a murder he didn't commit. There are pistol shots ringing out in a bar room, there's a car being stopped by the cops, there's the villain called Arthur Dexter Bradley, there's a fixed trial, a "pig circus".

Right from the start his followers have often proved a strangely dogmatic bunch. After all, he was their discovery, and one made against the grain of the American mass music of the day. It made for possessiveness. It is strange to recall the violence of the reactions against his "going electric" in the mid-1960s, nowadays almost more of a precondition than a betrayal. His third minor visit to England saw him booed heavily as the band came out to join him for the second half of a concert at the Albert Hall.

Now that God has got Bob on His side it all seems to be happening again - 15 years later. Most critics are in no doubt that the religious songs, full of horn-again fundamentalism, are the single most important reason for the sluggish ticket sales at Earls Court. It is suggested that he has outgrown the sources of his inspiration, that in seeking he was more interesting than in finding.

Oddly enough it is an atheist, Christopher Ricks, who dissents from this view. He has been "stung to great anger by the condescending reaction to Christianity," and maintains that Dylan's reworkings of Biblical references on the last two albums, *Slow Train Coming* and *Saved*, are well up to the standards of his earlier work. Not so the two American campus magazines which came up with the headlines "Pray Lady, Pray," and "Something is Haunting you, you don't know what it is, do you Mr. Jew!"

Michael Gray, the author of *Song and Dance Man*, which was reissued last Friday in an updated form almost 10 years after its original publication, sees nothing jarring about Dylan's new evangelism. "Even though it wasn't overtly religious," he says, "the *Street Legal* album showed plenty of signs of what was coming. And as far back as *Nashville Skyline* he gave off the first indications of a man seeking salvation."

One of the singer's most obsessive and long-standing apologists is the American writer Robert Shelton. An



early review of his formed the sleeve blur of a Dylan album, and he is currently still working on a book that will probably establish him as Dylan's Boswell. The two are personal friends, and Shelton is fascinated about his subject's public and private image: "Bob is a maddeningly private person. He is undoubtedly flattered to have been accepted as a serious poet. But there's no way he's going to drop that primitive stance. He'll deny that he pays any attention to what's written about him, but he'll read the stuff like a hawk. He knows exactly who's written what. He is a very contradictory and ambivalent person. You turn your back and there he is checking out the

cuttings." Shelton is adamant that to accord Dylan the honour of being treated as literature is not to crack a walnut with a sledge-hammer: "There is no doubt that the best of it does stand on the page. Many who attack him overlook certain factors. In the first place they

are not conversant with the blues or pop idiom in which he writes. Also, they are possibly not aware that along the way he has had to write many purely commercial songs which may not bear too fine a scrutiny. But the someone like Lowell, shall we say, didn't work under the burden of having to satisfy recording contracts."

For some there will always be a wall of the incongruous or pretentious about giving the lit. crit. treatment to rock 'n' roll singer. But for those who want to look - and there is no lack of them - the material is there: dense, obscure, vivid, witty and accessible by turns, and in its own way as quotable as Pope.

If rock writers ever succeed in being taken as seriously as film makers in the spectrum of popular cultural studies, it will be because of Dylan more than any other single figure. If Shelton had his way, the burden of proof would already have shifted to the non-believers.

depletion. "We have no idea how this is happening," said Dr Voss. "It is a mystery to us but we do think there are urgent steps we can take to halt the leaks."

Given the ambitious nature of the design of the Nuclear Structure Facility, it is scarcely surprising there are hiccups. The control areas or "dead areas" as they are known - provide a good example of the extremely awkward engineering problems that have had to be overcome.

Within these areas, the switching, control and measurement devices are contained - yet they cannot operate with any wires leading to or from them. Instead they are powered by mechanical methods - revolving shafts which have their energy converted to electricity within the insulated dead areas. It is these shaft bearings which are leaking, causing the present headaches.

The output from the "dead areas" providing details of the current measuring, bearing temperatures and gas conditions is even more sophisticated and is transmitted using a modulated beam of infra-red radiation. The information is then channelled into a comprehensive, rapid computer system, so that in principle everything can be controlled with a light pen and two control knobs at one central unit.

Once in operation, the NSF will be operated by groups of British university researchers as well as European research teams. They will use the Daresbury machine to blast ions from helium to uranium - into targets of fixed elements.

The nuclei - consisting of tightly packed bundles of neutrons and protons - will splinter and scatter and the resulting debris will provide scientists with new information about the make up of the nuclear centres of atoms.

Life at the top... Paul Flatier assesses the mid-term achievements of the NUS president and Ngaio Crequer meets Dr Albert Sloman, who takes over today as the new chairman of the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals

With Aaronovitch into the ice-age

There is a long standing joke at the National Union of Students offices in Endsleigh Street which goes like this. Soon after David Aaronovitch was elected vice president for education in 1976 the union discovered that its once sprawling travel empire had crashed leaving trading debts of some £90,000. When he became national secretary in 1978, the union discovered it was facing some of the harshest education cuts ever. When he became president last year the union realized it faced financial difficulties that would stretch ahead for some years.

It used to be so different before Aaronovitch, the story runs... In fact Aaronovitch, who started his second and final year as president this week, has come to power in difficult times - a long drawn out "educational ice-age" as he himself likes to call it. Hardly the environment to pursue progressive reforms, when so much blood, sweat, and tears is spent digging trenches to defend what already exists.

A year on, after leading delegations through the corridors of power to meetings with ministers, consultations with other unions, and campaigns across the country, Aaronovitch appears wiser, less inclined to sound off on every issue, but still uncertain

how to tackle the two main tasks he set himself at the start of his presidential term. How to sell higher education in general to the public at large and to students in particular; and how to put NUS on a firm foundation to see it through to more halcyon days expected later this decade.

It took him a while to settle in after holding the crown prince slot for two years. It is all the more ironic that one of his biggest headaches at present like that of most Tudor monarchs is trying to secure the succession (see panel). But now firmly accustomed to wearing a tie and carrying a briefcase, and having run through varying gunfire from being accused in a Cambridge Union debate of "taking orders from the Kremlin" to praise in the Lords from Tory peers for defusing the H-block row at Middlesex Polytechnic, he has made his presence known in the progressive reform, when so much blood, sweat, and tears is spent digging trenches to defend what already exists.

His manner, somewhat brusque and sharp, as delegates to the 1980 NUS conference in Margate well recall when he told them they were stupid, has not always endeared him to the membership, or his colleagues and officers. With some very close colleagues inside

the Left Alliance coalition of Labour, Liberals and Communists, which he heads, leaving NUS politics this week, his cabinet will be rather bare. He will need new aides to smooth relations with colleagues inside and outside Endsleigh Street, as he easily frightens people. Though infatigable he is quite shy and sensitive.

The year ahead, he says, will be the "year of alliances". He still wants to sell higher education, and he admits it is still thought generally as more of a luxury than an investment in future wealth creation. But above all he is keen to develop the "educational alliance" being nurtured by the UUC into a permanent pressure group.

His other major task is to produce the mark two version of the NUS development plan, implemented last year with a loss of seven union posts. The omens, the recession, grants cuts, a drop in student numbers, a wrangle over VAT - all point to a 10 per cent fall in the NUS's annual income of about £350,000.

A series of complicated manoeuvres at the last national conference left NUS without a clear line on future planning; that is now being thrashed out under Aaronovitch's guidance at executive meetings at the moment. Painful deci-

sions lie ahead. Again it seems ironic that a Communist president is giving NUS a stream-lined corporate management structure.

Aaronovitch is also keen to stress that NUS is not just about lobbying in Whitehall and Westminster. Indeed, in two weeks the union is holding a national conference to discuss next year's campaign against cuts. Student agitation and occupation of sites threatened by closure will be high on the agenda.

But this is not a return to the straightforward, direct action of the late 1960s and early 1970s. There are new problems of unemployment and cuts today and new approaches are needed, he says. "Power is a series of checks and balances. Yes, Minister style. The response has to be appropriate."

What has the Aaronovitch approach achieved so far? The balance sheet shows at least four pluses.

Top of the list is the extra £3.8m wrung from civil servants in the endless discussions on the new student union financing regulations beginning this September.

Then there was the effective Capital Hill-style lobbying on student loans, which while not the determining factor in the Government's abandonment of loans, certainly drew the attention of backbench MPs of all parties to the issue.

Third is his successful handling of the Middlesex Polytechnic "Irish affair", although he risked censure for interfering directly in the autonomous decision of a member student union.

Finally there was his implementation of stage one of the development plan. On the other side, he did not succeed in dragging out of the Government guidelines on the new financing arrangements to safeguard the autonomy of individual unions. He has not "sold" students on the importance of sport and entertainment, something he tried, and some people argue he has not inspired students.

What he has done perhaps most important of all is to continue a recent tradition in NUS politics, to break down factions and link NUS work to those issues that really concern students - "re-democratize the union".

"We are not just into corridors of power. The student movement belongs to students. NUS belongs to students. We are about the real educational interests of students. And we have to protest in the right way about the right kind of issue. Of course we are accepted now in Government circles and we want that. But that is not all." It is as clear a statement of his thinking as is likely.

Eight years is a long time in student politics. Then it was campaigns and occupations, today he brings to mind a recent poll in *National Student* showing the high interest of students in the royal wedding. "Students are not a special case. They share the same view of the majority of people," Aaronovitch says. He has 12 months left to tell the country, before angling for a job in the media.



David Aaronovitch: endly frightened people

The student princes' stakes

Who takes over? That's the dilemma facing David Aaronovitch when he ends his term in July 1982. It is strictly conference's decision, but he wants to see the presidency in the hands of a capable candidate with broadly Left Alliance/Labour policies.

By custom NUS presidents usually come up through another full-time union post, allowing them experience of national students policies and giving students the chance to judge their work. This leaves six candidates.

Front runner until recently was Andrew Pearmain, vice president for education. But a philosophic rather than practical approach and the poor showing of the library work-ins he organized, have set him back. He is also a Communist, and by rights it is not that party's turn again.

The new favourites appear to be Douglas Herd, new

national secretary, and Alan Watson, new treasurer and now leading light of the National Organization of Labour Students.

Herd, it is said, has the potential but no national profile yet, while Watson is better known, has a reputation for hard and consistent work at Endsleigh Street, but still appears green politically. Neither is an obvious president with the sort of national media profile now required of the job. Following Silman, Phillips and Aaronovitch is not easy.

The other three candidates appear to have little chance. Hank Hastings, just 20, vice president for welfare, is regarded as something of an anomaly. She is an independent with no political base and no reputation for hard graft. Julie Barton, president of NUS Wales, and Neil Stewart, NUS Scotland chairman, inevitably lack a national platform to make their mark.

Into the choppy weather with a fighter pilot at the controls

"Of course I like a challenge," said Albert Sloman. "I used to be a fighter pilot." His future battles will not be quite as severe as those faced in war-time, but they will be taxing enough as he takes over, today, as chairman of the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals.

Dr Sloman, vice chancellor of the University of Essex, takes the controls at the universities' most critical period. His first task will be to decide how to react publicly to this week's long-awaited news about cutbacks in grant and student numbers, when his committee meets to discuss the proposals.

His style of leadership will be crucial in determining whether the CVCP as a body can keep a collective voice and make the universities' case heard or whether individual vice chancellors will fall away, the strength of protest depending upon the percentage cutback they are advised to make.

In the last two years under the chairmanship of Sir Alec Morrison, of Bristol University, and permanent secretary, Geoffrey Caston, the CVCP has become a much more aggressive body, going public as never before in promoting the universities and drawing out the implications of the cuts.

In the past, and sometimes still, it basked in taciturnity, imposing restraints upon itself on the grounds that universities are autonomous and independent and therefore there cannot be one viewpoint for all.

Dr Sloman said it was right that the CVCP had taken a more public and firmer stance. "It is inevitable because circumstances are changing. If you have a policy in which the universities stand to lose between 12 to 15 per cent of their income, then clearly the voice of the committee has got to be louder and firmer."

"But still I hope it will be reasonable voice, stating the facts. The central concern of the committee is the quality of the system and if that quality is put at risk we would be failing in our duty if we did not speak out."

But he also thinks individual universities need to have regard to the overall view of the system and would rather have the University Grants Committee giving the advice, than anyone else. "If we are not prepared to listen to what is predominantly a group of academics, well..."

Dr Sloman was an exhibitor at Wadham College, Oxford where he took medieval and

modern languages. After the war, spent in Intelligence and as a night-fighter pilot, he lectured in Spanish at the University of California, and, then via University College and Trinity College, Dublin to become professor, at the age of 32, at Liverpool University.

He was president of the conference of European Rectors from 1969-74. He received a CBE last year.

He has seen the universities from all angles. He became vice chancellor at Essex in 1962, back in the heady days of expansion, new ideas, optimism and assured funding.

In the Reith lectures of 1963, when he talked about "a university in the making", he spoke of the great opportunities for change, the scope to be fresh bold and distinctive. He said then: "The fundamental aims of a university are not in the future. I believe it is the response of British universities today in the face of the social and economic needs of the country."

In the student upheavals of the 1960s, Essex had more than its fair share of trouble and a chance remark then by a certain Rhodes Boyson that it would be better if it was closed now folklore.

It is these events, rather than anything based on criteria such as quality of teaching and research, that usually qualifies Essex for its appearance in all the unofficial hit lists of universities that appeared in the run-up to the UGC planning cuts.

He has kept faith with early views about what universities should be, although he recognizes that now there is only limited room for action.

"The job of vice chancellor has become progressively more difficult over the last 15 years, for several reasons, but mainly financial. One of the changes is the relinquishment of the quinquennial system. British universities were able to plan five years ahead, increases in salaries were automatically met and we could plan responsibly."

"There have been two main changes: first the uncertainty, and then when the uncertainty is cleared up, the money has inevitably been less."

But he also thinks individual universities need to have regard to the overall view of the system and would rather have the University Grants Committee giving the advice, than anyone else. "If we are not prepared to listen to what is predominantly a group of academics, well..."

Dr Sloman was an exhibitor at Wadham College, Oxford where he took medieval and



Dr Albert Sloman: his pragmatic and unflappable approach will be useful now

to their needs and our need also to keep in close touch with industry and commerce.

"But it does not happen, as it does in other countries, by national edict. It is being done in the departments, and by the staff."

He is in favour of collaboration between universities and with the public sector in order to prevent duplication and to ensure that national needs are recognized and met with efficiency.

But he is opposed to any kind of comprehensive higher education system. "Successful governments have failed to define a role for public sector institutions and so it is not clear to a lot of people precisely what the role of the university and of the polytechnic is."

"Because of that there has not been enough of either collaboration or mobility of students within institutions. But I am against a single system. I am for different kinds of institutions but I would like roles defined." If anything, he would like greater diversity within existing universities.

And rather than too many students, there are too few. "The number of 18-year-olds in 1989 will be about the same as there were in 1979. We have an extraordinary low age participation rate. In 1972 Margaret Thatcher was talking about getting the percentage up to about 22 per cent."

He sees no merit in reducing the number of universities but says it is sensible to question whether every university should teach every subject, or whether departments are large enough to be viable.

Dr Sloman talks of the freedom of the universities, rather than their autonomy. "But there is no way we can claim absolute freedom. A very high degree of freedom has been a character

of the British university system and in my view counts for the great deal of its excellence."

He does not say how far the CVCP would go to protect that freedom if it was under attack, a precise answer being unwise for a vague question.

"The recurrent grant letters may be of such a kind that the system will be impaired. We shall be looking very hard at these letters. The UGC is acting in response to the Government and what we must get across to Government is the damaging effect of the magnitude and the pace of the cuts," he says.

But he stresses that the universities are not sacrosanct. On the question of tenure for lecturers, the committee has been examining for some time the legal position.

Ironically, the CVCP legal advice is that compensation could be as high as £100,000, which is more than the Association of University Teachers believes would be awarded.

"We have no option but to look at the implications of tenure because of the conditions the Government is imposing upon us. In any case British universities have from time to time to review conditions of service. When should it apply? Should it be 100 per cent?"

"No one is saying there should not be tenure. In other countries, tenure differs. In general terms, job security is important, but we have to look at this one."

His pragmatic, unflappable approach is going to be very necessary in the next few weeks and months as the universities decide their future. As he says, somewhat ruefully, "It could have been better timing..."

Smokestack lightning!

Robin McKie visits the village where Lewis Carroll was once vicar - now home to a huge 30 million volt accelerator

The 230-foot tower of Daresbury Laboratory's Nuclear Structure Facility perched above the Cheshire countryside - like a giant coffee-maker, is the embodiment of a major act of faith by scientists throughout the country. The 30 million volt machine is the largest of its kind in the world and will allow researchers to probe the make-up of nuclei at the centre of atoms using ambitious new technological developments.

Its construction follows years of careful research and development, themselves the results of intense lobbying by university science groups whose small nuclear structure accelerators had become outdated and who were anxious that Britain should step no further behind in competition with other countries in the field of nuclear structure research.

Yet in pushing back the barriers of technological know-how required to build these particular devices - known as tandem accelerators - Daresbury scientists have brought a host of problems down on their heads.

Civil engineering and staffing problems have increased the construction time from the estimated four years to seven and even now that the device is completed, commissioning problems have plagued its users and it is not now expected to be in operation until the end of this year. Its estimated cost in 1974 was £4.7m - in fact it has cost £13.5m, an increase which its director Dr Robert Voss argues can be almost

totally attributed to inflation.

Many of the operational problems emanated from its highly advanced design. Other European countries still use linear accelerators or cyclotrons, fire ions (atoms with added or reduced layers of electrons) in lines or circles by giving them incremental boosts of energy as they pass, before smashing them into targets. The debris is then analysed for clues and information about the make-up of the atom's nucleus.

Instead, the NSF relies on one massive charge of electricity to power its ions. At 30 million volts, when fully operational, this charge will be the highest in the world for such a device.

The NSF operates by feeding negatively charged ions into the top of the tower. A massive positive charge is introduced at the centre of the column and the ions accelerate towards this at huge energies.

When the ions reach the centre, they collide with a gas or foil "stripper", which removes many of the ions' electrons. The ions then become positively charged and are repelled from the column's centre, and the ions are given a double dose of energy before being smashed into targets.

"It is a neat design but one that brings major headaches when constructing an actual machine on the proportions of the one at Daresbury. The major difficulty stems from insulating the electric charge from the environment,

to prevent powerful lightning bolt discharges. This is why the NSF is built vertically. If it were constructed horizontally, the centre terminal would be too near the earth and electrical discharges would be common."

Yet the powerful electric charges involved - the NSF will start operating at 23 million volts, eventually rising to 30 million - require a particularly high tower to prevent giant lightning bolts travelling its length and dissipating its power. The proposed 230-foot construction caused a major panic in the neighbourhood, and part of the facility's delay was caused by a planning inquiry into its environmental impact on the village of Daresbury (where Lewis Carroll was once vicar).

Yet height alone is insufficient protection against the problem of violent surges of electricity and the interior is specially constructed out of a careful mix of stainless steel and glass hoops. Further insulation is provided by filling the inside of the tower - when in operation - with 150 tons of sulphur hexafluoride pumped to a pressure of 7½ atmospheres.

This gas must be kept free of moisture and excess heat, and dealing with these problems proved a major setback in the commissioning trials. Sadly for its operators, the problems of the NSF are by no means over. Scientists have found oil leaking from bearings inside the device, which again can affect insulation and cause power



The closed university

David Jobbins outlines the bitter struggle being waged for academic freedom by the lecturers of El Salvador

A year ago armoured cars reinforced the military occupation of the campus of the National University of El Salvador, said by the government to be a centre of revolutionary activity. Of the 10,000 students and staff there at the time, more than 40 were killed, and the armed forces embarked on a wave of systematic destruction felt by the university community to be designed to make reopening as difficult as possible.

Teaching and research materials were destroyed, office equipment, video and television sets looted, even the gold and silver from the dental school stolen.

On October 28, 1980 the university's rector, Felix Ulloa, was assassinated shortly before a visit to Europe.

Earlier this year the entire university council was arrested and held for 40 days.

The events took place against the background of the continued failure of the government to control the slide into bloody anarchy, with allegations that right wing death squads, responsible for many of the 8,000 deaths in 1980 which have continued unabated this year, were members of the armed forces in civilian clothes.

Sources suggest that since the beginning of 1980 more than 800 teachers and lecturers have died. With a combined membership of 18,000 the two education unions represent over 80 per cent of the country's teachers and lecturers, so the killings have severely hit the teaching force.

Unknown numbers of students have been among the thousands killed.

Many lecturers have fled overseas to continue their opposition to the Durré regime, often adopting assumed names for protection. Rumours circulated that the campus had been turned into a torture camp or - like the national teaching training college - an army barracks.

Yet on the first anniversary of the closure last Friday (June 26) the university held the second of two degree ceremonies which have taken place this year. The new rector, Dr Miguel Angel Parada, took advantage of the occasion to call for a return to normal.

Observers see the degree ceremonies not as an illustration of compliance by the university but as a gesture indicating the view that the government's actions have been an unconstitutional attack on its guaranteed autonomy.

Decree 602 - a move to cease paying senior administrators including the rector their salaries - is being challenged openly in the country's courts, with talks proceeding with the ministry of education and the court of supreme justice.

In a full report on the effects on the year's closure, the academic community has called firmly for the university's return to the "legitimate" authorities and an end to the persecution of staff.

Before the closure the university acted as a focus for opposition to the Government. Felix Ulloa had sought to align the university more closely with the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) which is pressing for talks with the military-backed junta.



FELIX A. ULLOA

RECTOR DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE EL SALVADOR Y PRESIDENTE DEL SERVICIO UNIVERSITARIO MUNDIAL. ASASINADO POR LA JUNTA DEMOCRATICA CRISTIANA SALVADOREÑA EL 29 DE OCTUBRE DE 1980.



Rector of the State University, Felix Ulloa, (left) murdered as he left a council meeting, and (right) murals on the university walls before the military occupying commemorating students killed in the fighting.

His vice-rector, Jose Napoleon Rodriguez, is one of those who has fled the country, is now one of the FDR's principle international ambassadors.

The two main lecturers' unions - the National Association of Salvadorean Teachers (Andes) and the Association of University Teachers (AEU) have close links with the FDR.

But there are emphatic denials that this opposition went as far as revolutionary activity, with the university used as an arms cache - the allegations which led to the government's use of force 12 months ago.

A university lecturer who addressed this year's conference of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education roused delegates to a standing ovation as he pledged a continued struggle for academic freedom, democracy and human rights.

The Association of University Teachers, the National Union of Students and the National Union of Teachers have each also given El Salvador considerable attention. The arrest of the university council provoked messages of protest to the junta



from a number of British universities including Oxford's Hebdomadal Council.

The UK section of the World University Service, based at 20 Compton Terrace, London N1, has launched the Felix Ulloa memorial fund to aid the El Salvadorian teachers' unions to defend human rights, relieve victims of repression and extend educational facilities to the peasantry and others traditionally denied access to the schools and colleges.

Mr John Bevan, who has just returned from Central America where he was working on behalf of WUS said: "Lecturers both in Guatemala and El Salvador are targets both for the governments and civilian death squads. In both countries the illiteracy rate is over 50 per cent, and the universities tend to be the focus of the educated, articulate opposition."

"There is documentation that lecturers were killed either on their way home or in the university grounds both in Guatemala and El Salvador. But it is impossible to say whether they are victims of academic repression or the

repression which is hitting the whole country, particularly the working class and peasantry."

The government is planning to change the law to end the need for the national university to be involved in validating the country's private universities. Currently there are four, but the last few weeks five more have been approved without the national university being involved.

"Practically anyone who wants to independently of their means, academic merits or moral status can form their own university," says a statement issued on behalf of the university community.

"Among the entrepreneurs taking part in this are various government officials."

University staff are seeking international aid to set up their own newspaper, the *Universitario*, to act as a focus for democratic opposition to the Durré government. With a projected circulation of 5,000 it will be distributed inside El Salvador as well as elsewhere in an effort to draw attention to the campaign.

John O'Leary reports on the alarming findings of a report by the World University Service

How refugee students lose out

Last September it seemed that the Government had opened up British higher education to the victims of El Salvador and other troublespots around the world. In contrast to the plight of overseas students in general, refugees were to be treated more liberally than before in the allocation of student awards and the payment of fees.

The announcement by Mr Mark Carlisle, Secretary of State for Education, marked the high water mark of a three-year campaign by refugee organizations and the World University Service in particular, for a better deal for refugees wanting to start or continue their education. It was not an all-embracing concession but a more favourable climate would leave the way open for further amendment as the need arose.

Such an optimistic outlook seemed justified when, less than two months later, Mr Carlisle extended the new arrangements to cover postgraduate courses, having accepted further representations by WUS and others. Although further amendments to help those already on courses were subsequently refused, the growing number of refugees in Britain were significantly better off than before.

Now, however, WUS has produced alarming evidence to show how little effect the concessions actually had. At the end of the first academic year under the new regulations, there remains a large pool of frustrated refugees who still cannot afford to equip themselves with the qualifications necessary to fulfil their potential in their new home. Only three of the 150 hopefuls who have sought assistance from WUS since September have received the mandatory award held out by the new arrangements.

The problem, illustrated clearly through case studies in the WUS report published this week, is that too many of those most likely to benefit from further and higher education are falling through the loopholes of the regulations. Unfortunately, it is not the case that a refugee is a refugee, and even those who satisfy the Government's criteria often fall foul of other requirements for a grant. Many cannot afford to take the courses necessary to bring

them up to the required standard either in English or their chosen discipline.

As a result, the understanding tone adopted in Mr Carlisle's announcement rings more than a little hollow for many. "Many of these people have become refugees through no fault of their own and we should do all we can to help them," he said at the time.

Having accepted them into our country they should be treated in the same way as home students and should in this way be enabled to play a full and active part in their new country."

He made specific mention of those who were in the midst of their studies when forced to leave their homelands. Yet it is this very group who have been most disappointed by the new arrangements. Because of what WUS describes as a "Catch 22" clause, those

who would qualify for degree courses because of previous study abroad are excluded from mandatory grants, while many of the rest cannot achieve that standard.

The report, *Refugee students: Education policy is failing*, quotes the case of a woman with two young children whose husband was killed by the military authorities in her home country, forcing her to flee to Britain. Three years of a degree course in civil engineering are now going to waste because, although she no longer has to spend a further three years in Britain before qualifying for a mandatory award, she cannot afford to take up a university place offered to her here.

Her previous study prevents her receiving a mandatory award and the local authority where she now lives has

a policy of not giving discretionary awards for designated courses.

As the report points out, many refugees seek and are granted asylum because they are victims of the repression of the intelligentsia, but are then penalised for this when they reach Britain. Of the 25 Latin Americans seen by WUS applying for places on designated courses starting in October, 19 others were ineligible on this count.

Others never reach this stage because, although to the layman they would appear to be refugees, they fall into the wrong categories. Some have been granted refugee status by other countries, others have been given asylum but still do not have refugee status under the 1951 United Nations Convention, which is the yardstick for last year's regulations.

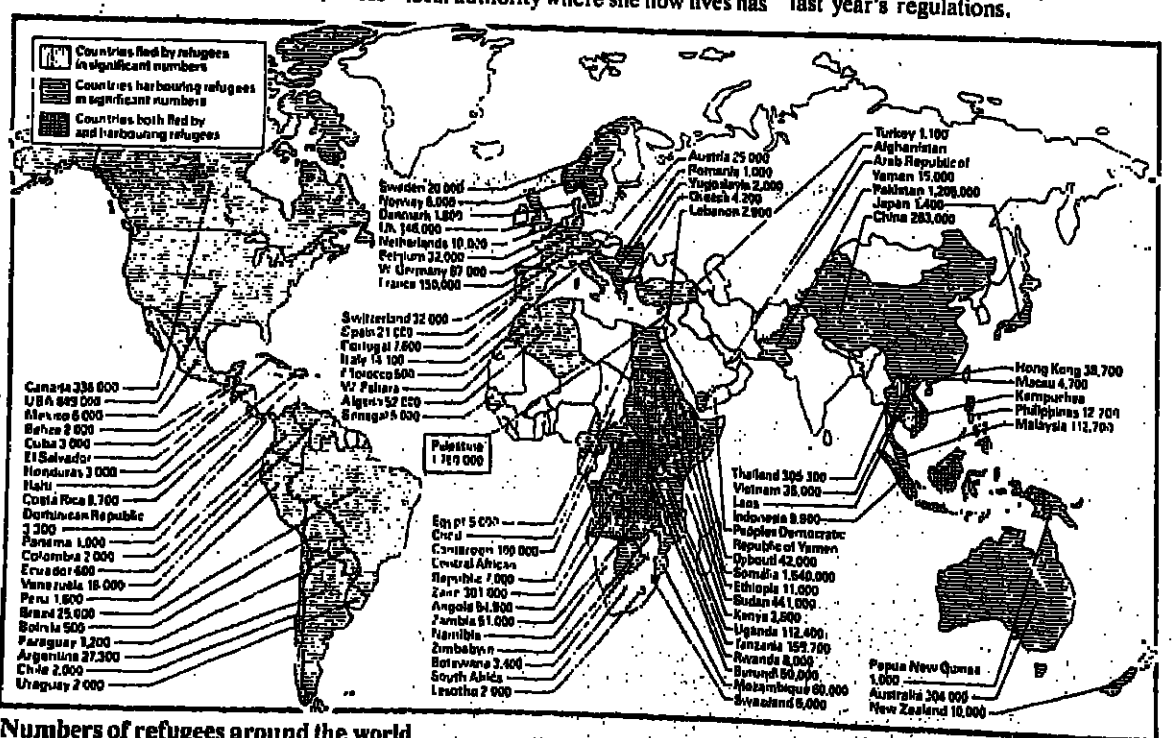
One of those advised by WUS found that he could not obtain financial assistance because his wife was the one with full refugee status. Having received clearance from the Home Office to be designated a refugee in his own right, he then fell foul of the previous study rule for a mandatory award and could not have a discretionary award because his local authority still applied a residential qualification.

In a closer look at two of the largest groups of refugees coming into regular contact with WUS officials, the report concludes that a maximum of eight out of more than 100 Ethiopians and more than 100 Latin Americans applying for grant will be assisted by the new regulations. Some will escape the full-cost overseas student tuition fee but this alone does not enable a penniless refugee to undertake a full-time course in higher education.

The Department of Education and Science has now agreed to further limited concessions, but WUS is asking Mr Carlisle to go further to turn the words of last year into reality. The report recommends an extension of mandatory grants to those who have been granted asylum but not refugee status. It argues for a fund to be established by the Overseas Development Administration to provide scholarships for refugees who are still excluded from mandatory awards to cover those granted refugee status outside Britain, those wanting to take non-advanced courses and those applying for postgraduate places.

WUS also calls for a new programme to be established, enabling those refugees who wish to do so to return when their studies are complete.

The report admits that some cost would be involved but claims that it would be no more than Mr Carlisle envisaged in making his original concessions. Most would be covered by reallocation of funds within the aid budget. The response will be an interesting test of the Government's resolve to make a special case for refugees. Both within higher education and in the House of Commons there would be considerable support for such a course.



RIGHT ON!



five Digest can be called intellectual journals of opinion. For the ideas advanced in these journals are rarely elaborated upon in sober fashion, and those who write for them often advertise their distaste for intellectuals and public-policy experts. Both magazines espouse a Republican brand of populism – a populism that is suspicious of big businessmen, Harvard professors and Wall Street lawyers. The Republican populists, who have been called Main Street – as opposed to Wall Street – Republicans, dislike the Republican politicians who are closely connected with the so-called Eastern Establishment.

Whatever the merits of the other conservative journals, they clearly are intellectual journals and many of the articles in them are written by distinguished scholars. The proliferation of conservative intellectual journals has made it difficult for liberal intellectuals to dismiss conservative ideas as unworthy of their serious attention. Irving Howe may speak of the Yahoos, but many liberal intellectuals who have not made the journey Podhoretz has made now feel obliged to wrestle with conservative ideas. Peter Steinfels, the editor of *Commonweal* (a leading journal of liberal Roman Catholic opinion), last year published a lengthy book on the neo-conservatives. Such journals as *Commentary* and *The Public Interest*, which are read by high-level policy makers and leading academics, have always been influential. Now that the Republicans have gained control of the White House and the Senate, they have become even more influential. David Stockman, the Reagan administration's Director of the Office of Management and Budget, has written for *The Public Interest*, and Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, the Ambassador to the United Nations, has published frequently in *Commentary*.

If the proliferation of conservative intellectual journals is one of the signs of the times, so too is the proliferation of conservative think tanks. Among them are the American Enterprise Institute, whose budget has grown from \$800,000 in 1970 to more than \$10 million in 1980; the Heritage Foundation (current budget \$5 million); the Georgetown Centre for Strategic Studies (\$4.5 million); and the Hoover Institution, the only major conservative think tank located outside of Washington (\$5 million).

Probably the most influential think tank has been the American Enterprise Institute. According to *The Washington Post*, the AEI "has eliminated the monopoly Brookings has held as the nation's premier think tank." It has 34 resident scholars and a large number of adjunct scholars at universities both in the United States and Great Britain. It has made its reputation primarily in economic analysis – especially in the study of governmental regulation – but it has also published many studies of the workings of democratic politics in the United States and throughout the world. The Georgetown Centre for Strategic Studies, however, is probably more influential than the AEI in the field of foreign policy. It includes among its advisers and fellows Henry Kissinger, James Schlesinger, Bernard Lewis and Hugh Seton-Watson. Although the Hoover Foundation and the Heritage Foundation lack the prestige and influence of the AEI and the Georgetown Centre, they have also managed to recruit a collection of distinguished scholars, including Sidney Hook at the Hoover Foundation and Hugh Thomas at the Heritage Foundation. More important, all four think tanks have provided manpower for the Reagan administration. Some of President Reagan's most important advisers – including the head of the National Security Council, the head of the White House Domestic Policy staff, and the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers – have come from these think tanks.

There are other signs of the new American conservatism – the growing number of respected conservative col-

'Over here on the right it was just plain Dry Gulch... now it's

umnists, the most influential being George Will, who writes for *The Washington Post* and *Newsweek*, and William Safire, who writes for *The New York Times*. Finally, the growth of conservative intellectual opinion can be gauged in part by looking at the number of books in recent years that have come to the defence of capitalism – from the tempered endorsement of Irving Kristol in *Two Cheers for Capitalism* to the evangelical enthusiasm of George Gilder in *Wealth and Poverty*.

The new American conservatism is clearly a force to be reckoned with, but what do we mean when we speak of conservatism? Walter Laqueur recently argued that many who write about politics are guilty of patasticism: the habit of using words without thought. Laqueur condemned such labels as conservative and liberal – as well as left and right – as thoughtless, especially when used to comment upon foreign affairs. Unfortunately, journalists will always find it tempting to rely upon such labels, especially when writing about the politics of a country they know relatively little about. Moreover, even those who dislike being pinned with such labels often resort to them. Since it is Utopian to expect that imprecise political labels will ever be abandoned, perhaps the best we can do is warn those who use them that they mean different things to different people – that, for example, the landscape of American conservatism is far from uniform.

After the November election, *Newsweek* posed the following question: "The Right: a House Divided?" According to *Newsweek*, there are five different Republican factions: the Neo-conservatives, the GOP Establishment, the Old Right, the New Right, and the Religious Right. This breakdown is needlessly complex. The Old Right and the New Right are essentially the same faction, and the Religious Right is simply an outgrowth of the New Right. There are, then, only three major Republican factions: the Neo-conservatives, which we can call the ex-Democratic right; the Old, New, and Religious Right, which we can call the Populist right; and the GOP Establishment, which we can call the Wall Street right.

Newsweek's breakdown, moreover, leaves out one right-wing group that has its own party: the Libertarian right. Like other conservatives, the Libertarians want – as Reagan put it during the presidential campaign – "to get the government off our backs." Unlike other conservatives, the Libertarians mean what they say; they call for a drastic reduction in defence spending, a proscription on foreign intervention, and the abolition of the Central Intelligence Agency – "all of which," as Laqueur points out, "has led at least one commentator to marvel how far leftward the right wing of American politics stands."

At present the number of libertarians is insignificant, though they do constitute a growing force in California and Alaska, where many people appear to hate government – especially the federal government – with an extraordinary intensity. Nevertheless, it is doubtful that the Libertarian Party will ever become a significant force in American politics, for they are rigidly principled. They have one theme and one theme only: limit the scope of government. The Republican Party, of course, is not so singleminded. It did so well in the November election by appealing to a wide variety of Americans. The question is whether the different factions that compose the new American majority can work together. On defence policy there is a great deal of agreement among the different factions. On foreign policy and economic policy, however, there is no consensus and the different factions may clash with each other.

Even on defence spending there is some disagreement. The Populist right (the Old, New, and Religious right) have called for military superiority over the Soviet Union whereas the ex-Democratic right (the Neo-conservatives) and the Wall Street right (the GOP establishment) have

called only for military parity. The Reagan administration clearly has backed away from the notion of military superiority, though the Republican Party platform supported it. Caspar Weinberger, the Secretary of Defence, has spoken only of rectifying "a strategic imbalance." Opposing Weinberger's nomination, Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, the leading politician of the Populist right, said: "The notion that there ought to be a balance of forces is part and parcel of the same doctrines that have brought about our military decline."

There is less to this disagreement, however, than meets the eye, since all Republicans – and most Democrats – agree that the United States needs to bolster its defences. On defence policy there has been an extraordinary shift in American intellectual opinion during the past few years. In the mid-1970s many intellectuals, responding to the debacle of Watergate, pondered the question of political corruption and worried about the so-called imperial presidency. Nowadays the fashionable topics are no longer political corruption and political power; they are military affairs and economic affairs, and many academics and journalists have begun to write lengthy articles about such questions as the quality of America's armed forces and the quality of America's military hardware. There is a good deal of disagreement on the way in which the United States should bolster its defences, but most Americans – and many American intellectuals – would agree with Raymond Aron's recent remark that during the 1970s there was no arms race because only one superpower, the Soviet Union, was doing the running. Most



President Ronald Reagan: the Right believes he has a "truly historic opportunity" to make America great again.

Americans, however, would question the need for military superiority. Rather, they would agree with Weinberger's remark that "we have the best chance of obtaining peace if there is not such a destabilizing factor as a gross imbalance in the forces of the two superpowers."

On foreign policy the Republican consensus is weaker. Although all factions are strongly anti-communist, the Populist right wants anti-communism to be the central element of American foreign policy whereas the ex-Democratic right and the Wall Street right want it to be only a main element. To put it another way, the Populist right calls for a principled foreign policy whereas the other factions call for a foreign policy based upon enlightened self-interest, one that would not rule out good relations with left-wing regimes. The Reagan administration clearly has chosen the latter approach.

The best-known spokesman for the administration's point of view is Jeanne Kirkpatrick, the Ambassador to the United Nations. In several articles in *Commentary*, Kirkpatrick attacked the Carter administration's principled approach to foreign policy – not only its stand on human rights but also its disposition in favour of change, in favour of those who "invoke the rhetoric of popular liberation." Writing about Latin America, Kirkpatrick said "regarded revolutionaries as beneficiaries of change, it mistook their goals and motives and could not grasp the problem of governments which become the object of revolutionary violence." According to Kirkpatrick,

the Carter administration's preoccupation with change abetted destabilization and actually increased the level of human suffering and misery in several countries. Although many observers have said that Kirkpatrick – and the administration in general – is rushing to embrace Latin American dictators, Kirkpatrick's argument is less a defence of authoritarian regimes than a warning that undermining any regime is a dangerous game. Acknowledging that in Latin America "the choices are frequently unattractive," she argued that "the United States needs to think more realistically about the... alternatives to existing governments..." Thinking realistically, she said, means abandoning "the globalist approach which denies the realities of culture, character, geography, economics and history in favour of a vague, abstract universalism."

Some observers have said that the administration's foreign policy is a return to the doctrine of containment that John Foster Dulles preached in the 1950s. But Kirkpatrick's essays and Secretary of State Haig's remarks to the press make it clear that the Reagan administration eschews the principled anti-communism of Dulles as much as it eschews the principled "liberationism" that it regards as the hallmark of the Carter administration's foreign policy. In its broad outlines, the foreign policy of the Reagan administration should be seen as a modified version of Kissinger's policies – modified because some of Kissinger's assumptions about *détente* have not been borne out: increased trade has not made the Soviet Union more docile, and America's unilateral restraint on defence spending has not led to an equivalent restraint on the part of the Soviets. Therefore, the Reagan administration has embraced the notion of linkage. "We must make it clear to the Soviet leaders," Haig said recently, "that they cannot expect benefits... whether it be arms control, trade, credit transfers or technology... while they are engaging in activity... which is endangering international peace."

The Populist right is unhappy with the Reagan administration's foreign policy precisely because it sees the shadow of Kissinger behind it. Pointing out that Haig is a protégé of Kissinger, *Conservative Digest* attacked Haig for appointing many "professional, non-ideological foreign affairs experts" to high-level positions in the State Department. Senator Jesse Helms opposed most of Haig's appointments, especially those men who had been close associates of Kissinger. And the *Conservative Digest* warned President Reagan that "your mandate is in danger of being subverted" by officials who are not "Reaganites."

But the Populist right's cries of alarm should not be regarded as a sign that Republicans are bitterly divided on matters of foreign policy. The Populist right is uneasy about the administration's general approach to foreign policy, but so far it has not raised any questions about particulars. Aside from fervent anti-communism the only other issue of foreign policy that the Populist right has been committed to is the Panama Canal. It once led the Panama Canal treaties to be a dead issue and, therefore, no longer a sticking point among Republicans. Moreover, both the Populist right and the ex-Democratic right are strong supporters of Israel. Finally, both the Populist right and the ex-Democratic right think the Wall Street right is unduly eager to expand trade with the Soviet Union. Writing in *Commentary*, Carl Gershman, who has since become an aide to Kirkpatrick, accused many American corporations of "selling them the rope" – invoking Lenin's famous phrase to describe the eagerness on the part of many American industrial giants to sell the Soviet Union high-technology that might in the long run endanger American security.

More important, all the factions of the Republican Party are united in the belief that the war in Vietnam was a disaster. Reagan said during the presidential campaign, was a "noble cause." All reject the notion that the United States conducted its dishonourably when it intervened in Vietnam – unwisely

perhaps, dishonourably no. (To us this, of course, is not to say that the Republicans condone everything that took place in Vietnam.) This sentiment is the glue that binds the different factions together – unites Norman Podhoretz with Jesse Helms, Kirkpatrick with William Buckley. The refusal to apologize for Vietnam is part of a larger refusal – the refusal to apologize for the United States in general. As Kirkpatrick put it in an article that brought her to the attention of Reagan, "Dictatorships and Double Standards": "The United States is in fact a racist, colonial power, it does not practice genocide, it does not threaten world peace with expansionist activities... For these reasons and more, a posture of continuous self-abasement and apology vis-à-vis the Third World is neither morally necessary nor politically appropriate." The opinions expressed in this article may account for the fact that Kirkpatrick – self-avowed Democrat with close ties to Senator Henry Jackson and Senator Daniel Moynihan – was enthusiastically endorsed by *Conservative Digest* as an "outstanding Reaganite conservative."

Conservative Digest gave no endorsement to Donald Reagan, President Reagan's choice for Secretary of the Treasury. The Populist right likes Reagan not only because he is chairman of a well-known Wall Street brokerage firm – and therefore close to a member of the Wall Street right – but also because he had failed to continue the supply-side tax position, as the *Conservative Digest* put it. At his Senate confirmation hearing, Reagan said that reduced government spending and deregulation were "more important parts" of his administration's economic programme. The Populist right thinks that tax cuts are more important than cuts in federal spending.

On economic policy as well as foreign policy, then, there is a difference of opinion between the Populist right and the Wall Street right. The first thinks tax cuts should be at the core of Reagan's economic policy because only tax cuts will stimulate productivity. The latter thinks that a reduction in government spending should be Reagan's primary economic objective since a reduction in government spending should help curb inflation. The Wall Street right probably is more influential in the making of economic policy, since it has the backing of powerful businessmen and industrialists. Some big businessmen think the government should intervene to curtail the market but to protect declining American industries, especially the auto and steel industries. Others have questioned the Reagan administration's decision to cut the budget of the Export-Import Bank, which underwrites the export of large, high-technology items such as aircraft and nuclear reactors. According to one corporate executive, the administration's "ideological free-trade people" do not realize that the international market place is very different from the domestic one and that other countries subsidize their major industries in order to make them competitive on the world market.

The chief threat to Republican harmony, however, will not come from the neo-conservatives who make up the ex-Democratic right nor the big businessmen, bankers, and stockbrokers who make up the Wall Street right. It will come from the mass of people – farmers, small businessmen, teachers – who comprise the Populist right, especially those who belong to the religious wing of the Populist right. Jerry Falwell, the Protestant minister who is the president of the Moral Majority, which is the leading religious lobbying group of the Populist right, is not opposed to either a cut in taxes or a cut in the federal government's budget; he says this: his goal is "to defend the free enterprise system." His main concern, however, is not economic policy but social policy; he wants to defend "the family, Bible morality, and fundamental values." If the Populist right believes that the Reagan administration is slighting such social issues as abortion, prayer in schools, and the status of homosexuals it may decide not to support Reagan's economic policies – decide either to form a Conservative Party or to abandon politics altogether.

a lush garden where many varieties of conservatism flourish

than in foreign and defence policy, the ex-Democratic right by and large has not entered into the debate.

The debate about supply-side economics has obscured a more central question that threatens to create tensions among the different Republican factions: the relationship between economic policy and other governmental objectives. All the factions swear allegiance to capitalism, yet all would acknowledge that at times the free market needs to be curtailed – in the interest of defence policy and in the pursuit of a particular foreign policy. President Reagan recently decided to continue the grain embargo of the Soviet Union, and if the Soviet Union invades Poland no doubt other restrictions on trade will be put into effect. At present there are many restrictions upon trade. In the case of Iraq, for

At first glance it would seem that the Moral Majority and other religious groups of the Populist right are a significant force in American politics, since if we leave out Ireland the United States is the most religious country in the Western world. A large proportion of Americans (94 per cent) say that they believe in God, and a large proportion (71 per cent) say that they believe in a life after death. Moreover, a substantial minority of Americans (about 35 per cent) are "born-again Christians" – that is, they have had an intense religious experience in which they asked Jesus to be their personal saviour. According to surveys conducted in 1978, 54 per cent of Americans consider their religion to be "very important" in their lives; and a survey conducted last year claims that there is a deep religious revival under way in the United States – claims also that there are more than 45 million "intensely religious" adults in America.

Religion plays a significant role in American life, yet most observers do not find any correlation between religious commitment and political preference. Blacks are disproportionately religious – the "highly religious" are like to be elderly, southern, black and female (five to ten per cent) consider themselves Republicans. According to Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, two well-known political sociologists, "the efforts to mobilize a religious constituency for political purposes had no measurable effect on the 1980 elections." Although the Populist right claims that it was instrumental in the election both of Reagan and a Republican majority in the Senate, many observers disagree. Moreover, a number of Republican candidates for Congress say that they were not helped – and may even have been harmed – by the support of such groups.

We cannot say, then, that most born-again Christians or most intensely religious Americans are Republicans. But it is possible that the Populist right has, in effect, created Republicans by getting people to vote who had never voted before. There is some evidence to show that the Republican party was helped in the November election by the support of people who had previously not participated in elections. And even if the religious wing of the Populist right is not as powerful as it claims, it has succeeded in pushing new issues into the political arena – issues that will probably be debated throughout the 1980s. If the 1970s saw the rise of so-called public interest groups – led by such men as John Gardner of Common Cause and Ralph Nader of Public Citizen – the 1980s may witness the proliferation of religious-political lobbying groups. As a result, the legislative agenda of the public interest groups – political corruption, open government, business ethics, and consumer safety – will be replaced by the legislative agenda of the Populist right, which centres on efforts to ban most abortions, reintroduce prayer in schools, and limit the "rights" of homosexuals.

Aside from its completely different legislative agenda, the Populist right of the 1980s has much in common with the public interest groups that were so prominent in the 1970s. The Populist right has copied the fund-raising and lobbying techniques of the public interest groups. Like the public interest groups, it raises money through extensive, computerized mailing campaigns. And, like the public interest groups, it has devised a voting index that enables its supporters to evaluate the records of Congressmen. Many public interest lobbying organizations judge legislative proposals according to whether or not they are "pro-consumer." Many lobbying groups of the Populist right judge legislative proposals according to whether or not they are "pro-family."

Finally, like the public interest groups, the groups of the Populist right espouse a brand of politics that is rigid and moralistic. Whereas the public interest groups imply that those who disagree with their views are venal or even corrupt, the religious groups of the Populist right imply that those who

disagree with their views are immoral or even immoral. According to one leader of a religious lobbying group, "we see two Americas developing. One is a moral America which rejects such things as abortion, homosexuality, government interference in family life and efforts to weaken the natural bonds, the principles and beliefs that enable us to live civilly together. There is another America that is in favour of these things. Although most Americans are probably sympathetic to the positions the Populist right takes on many social issues, most probably are uncomfortable with an approach to politics that smacks of zealotry. A leading evangelical theologian was probably speaking for most Americans when he warned that "equally devout individuals may disagree over the best programme for achieving common goals."

If the Populist right's moralistic politics disturbs some Christians, it also disturbs some neo-conservatives of the ex-Democratic right. "The one truly dark cloud," Podhoretz said recently, "in the otherwise sunny sky smiling over Ronald Reagan's election concerns the Moral Majority." Yet how dark is that cloud? The Moral Majority and other religious lobbying groups have been painted in lurid colours in the American liberal press. They have been called fanatics, and the American Civil Liberties Union has said that they were akin to Joe McCarthy – the unscrupulous red-baiting senator of the 1950s – and that their kind of patriotism "violates every principle of liberty that underlies the American system of government."

There is no evidence to support the ACLU's general claim. Moreover, the ACLU misrepresented the Moral Majority's position on many issues. The Moral Majority does not want to force children to pray in schools; it supports only the return of voluntary prayer to public schools. The Moral Majority does not want to persecute homosexuals or deny them their civil rights. It opposes "legislation that might promote homosexuals as a 'bona fide' minority" like women, blacks, Hispanics, etc. Although the Moral Majority is not a fanatical organization, for two reasons its influence – and the influence of the Populist right in general – threatens to make it difficult for Republicans to compose their differences. First, the main item on its legislative agenda is the "Human Life Amendment," which would make

abortion illegal except if the life of the woman were in danger. Abortion is not an issue that lends itself to legislative compromise. Twenty per cent of the nation is implacably opposed to any form of abortion, and 20 per cent of the nation is implacably opposed to any limitation on abortion. How can there be any legislative compromise when the "pro-life" groups of the Populist right regard the "pro-choice" groups as apologists for murder? As one anti-abortion activist put it, "Nothing like it has separated our society since the days of slavery." Secondly, the Moral Majority right make deliberation difficult because they have a quasi-conspiratorial notion of those who disagree with them. According to the Moral Majority, the moral decline of the nation is being abetted by "amoral and secular humanists and other liberals who are destroying the traditional family and moral values on which our nation was built."

In an ironic split, Jefferson in his first inaugural address asked the nation to recognize that "every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle." On defence policy, foreign policy, and economic policy, the different opinions of the various Republican factions are not differences of principle. On social questions, especially on the question of abortion, there may be differences of principle: I say "may" because both the ex-Democratic right and the Wall Street right have avoided conflict with the Populist right by generally keeping silent on such issues. But the Populist right will probably not take silence for an answer, because it is worried that

the Reagan administration will back away from such issues. The Populist right is also inclined to regard all issues – not just social issues – as matters of principle. Reflecting upon the Reagan administration's appointments, the *Conservative Digest* argued that conservatives (by which it meant the Populist right) "must establish their commitment to policy and principle above party and personality." The Populist right's principled stance on many issues will pose difficulties for the Reagan administration and for legislators in general. In *The Wealth of Nations* Adam Smith argues that "the good temper and moderation of contending factions seems to be the most essential circumstance in the public morals of a free people." By and large, the Populist right is neither good-tempered nor moderate.

But the Populist right constitutes only one faction of the new American conservatism. And, despite its claims, it is not a particularly important faction, for most Americans did not vote for Ronald Reagan because they are opposed to secular humanism. They voted for him because they thought he might be a better leader than Carter. "The Reagan mandate," Irving Kristol said soon after the election, "is to stop us from drifting in the direction we have been drifting, both in economic and foreign affairs, and to move us in another direction. People had nothing more specific than that in mind this November."

The Populist right disagrees with Kristol, but so do many on the left. Both the Populist right and the democratic-socialist left want to impose a quasi-revolutionary meaning on the November election. According to Irving Howe, "the Reagan victory gives new strength and self-confidence... to the most reactionary elements in the country: to the Moral Majority fanatics, to the Friedmanite ideologues, to the corporate interests, to the enemies of women's rights, to the Cold Warriors." In a sense Howe may be right: Reagan's victory probably did give comfort to American reactionaries. But to say this is the equivalent of a right-winger's saying that the victory of Lyndon Johnson (or any Democrat) gave new strength to the Communists. Moreover, who are these reactionaries? If Milton Friedman's support of classical liberalism – his championing of the free market – merits calling him a reactionary, then he is a very different kind of reactionary from the moralists of the Populist right.

Reactionary is a term of abuse, not analysis. The term conservative may be only slightly better. The November election was not a triumph for conservatism – because most Americans, according to Everett Cull Ladd (a well-known political sociologist) do not regard themselves as either liberals or conservatives. The election was not a mandate for the Moral Majority, Friedmanite ideologues, the corporate interests, the enemies of women's rights, or the Cold Warriors. It was a mandate for a more market-orientated economy. And it was a mandate for a more consistent and decisive foreign policy.

It was not, moreover, endorsement of the Republican Party. Many Americans who voted Republican in this election may switch to the Democrats if the Democrats choose a strong, centrist candidate for President. But even if the Republicans lose control of the White House and the Senate, the general movement of American public opinion – and American intellectual opinion – will not be reversed, at least not for the remainder of the decade. By breaking ranks with his democratic socialist past, Podhoretz found himself in an unsettling position for an intellectual; he found himself in accord with the temper of the country at large. Like an increasing number of intellectuals in the United States, he became "conservative" insofar as he began to defend a market-orientated economy and began to worry about the military imbalance between the United States and the Soviet Union.

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Senator Barry Goldwater: to Liberals he stood for "the forces of racism and reaction."



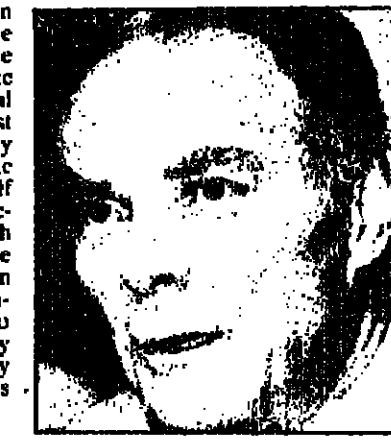
Senator Jesse Helms: champion of the Populist right and opponent of Kissinger-style foreign policy.



Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, US Ambassador to the United Nations: a Democrat yet hailed as "an outstanding Reaganite conservative."



William F. Buckley Jr., editor of the *National Review*: once a lone conservative voice in American journalism.



General Alexander Haig, US Secretary of State: opposed by some right wingers for his Kissinger connections.

J. V. Barnett analyses the findings of a survey tracing the early fortunes of 7,550 graduates

Since they undertook their extended role as fully diversified institutions in 1975, the colleges and institutes of higher education, and particularly those which have developed from former colleges of education, have had to speculate about their ability to place successfully in employment those who complete their courses, both those with a teaching qualification and those with non-teaching degrees and diplomas.

A pilot survey conducted by the Association of Careers Advisers in Colleges of Higher Education (ACACHE) involving 25 institutions, traced the first destination of nearly 7,550 students leaving those institutions in the summer of 1979; and this has led ACACHE to conduct a more comprehensive survey involving 49 of the 62 institutions in membership with the Standing Conference of Principals and Directors of Colleges and Institutes in Higher Education and following the fortunes of 12,250 students who successfully completed their courses in 1980.

Of these students, for 7,724 (63 per cent) left with a teaching qualification, a drop of over 10 per cent on the 1979 proportion, indicating the impact of the cuts in teacher training and the increased recruitment to non-teaching courses. The Post-Graduate Certificate in Education accounted for 29 per cent (1979 for 14 per cent), the BEd degree for 53 per cent (1979 for 61 per cent), the Certificate in Education 14 per cent (1979 for 21 per cent), and

Degrees of unemployment

specialist one-year courses 4 per cent (1979 for 4 per cent). Here again the changing population of the colleges and institutes is thrown up in clear relief as the proportion of PGCE output doubles and the already dwindling population of certificate students falls by a third.

An examination of the first destination of these teacher-qualified students, most of whom entered higher education in 1976 before the major crisis in employment began to reveal themselves, shows that as yet the majority of them are firmly thinking in terms of employment in schools and are not significantly needing to see the BEd degree as a general qualification marketable outside the teaching profession. Of those reporting their destination (5,786), 10.6 per cent were unemployed in the January following graduation and 73.4 per cent were in permanent employment in this country; the balance were in temporary appointments, abroad or not seeking employment. Of those in permanent employment 91.7 per cent had been appointed to teaching posts. While these figures make it abundantly clear that those qualifying as teachers essentially look to teaching for employment, it needs to be remembered that the

declining and more selective intakes and the facility which exists in many colleges and institutes for students while in course, to transfer from teacher training into non-teaching degrees mean that those who finally qualify are likely to be much more determined, better qualified and more wholly committed entrants to the teaching profession.

Unemployment inevitably hits the certificated student more heavily than the graduate. Of those reporting how they had fared: 12 per cent were unemployed, compared with the level pegging performance of PGCE and BEd graduates of roughly 8.5 per cent.

4,518 students (57 per cent) left the institutions with a non-teaching qualification (26 per cent in 1979). Of these, 65.8 per cent obtained a post-graduate, graduate or graduate-equivalent award; 18.4 per cent obtained a HND, principally in Business Studies (52 per cent) or Engineering (23.6 per cent) and 15.8 per cent were awarded other diplomas, the DipHE alone accounting for 7 per cent of the leaving total.

The first destination of these students follows a pattern very similar to that reported in the past by other sectors of higher education. It is fortunate that

ACACHE has used procedures identical with those employed by the polytechnics and universities so that direct comparisons can be made.

Of those responding to the survey, 39.1 per cent had gone on to further education and training, 42.2 per cent were in employment, 10 per cent were not seeking employment and 8.7 per cent were unemployed. Roughly half of those proceeding to further courses in higher education are to be found in teacher training but as this constitutes one in five of those completing the non-teaching courses it is clear that the fear that the diversified courses were being seen by students as a back-door way through the barrier of teacher training quotas is not being realized.

The classification of students by employer categories shows that half of the students placed in permanent employment in this country have entered industry and commerce and only 26 per cent are to be found in the public service. A more detailed classification by "type of work" reveals that 13 per cent of them are involved in financial work, 12.5 per cent in health and social welfare, 11.4 per cent in secretarial work, 9.7 per cent have joined general traineeships in industry and commerce and 9 per cent are involved in buying,

marketing and selling.

What this survey does not reveal—in common with similar surveys relating to the other sectors of higher education—is the level at which these students who have successfully completed two, three or four years of study in higher education have entered their first appointments, whether they are entering posts which could recruit at a much lower level of achievement, whether they genuinely require a high standard of education or lead to appointments which will later make such demands.

For enlightenment on these vital matters we must look to the outcome of current research programmes relating to the expectations of graduates as they enter employment conducted by the research group at Brunel University and the more detailed study of graduates from colleges and institutes of higher education in their first years of employment being conducted by the Combined Colleges Research Group. In the meantime we must be grateful to ACACHE for initiating this study and hope that in 1981 they will succeed in reporting on the graduates from all of the institutions.

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Third World, second chance, and first priorities

On July 9 the first meeting takes place of an entirely new body, the Inter-University and Polytechnic Council. It has arisen, phoenix-like, from the ashes of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas which, at the age of 35, passed away on March 31 this year, deeply mourned by many friends and admirers in Britain and even more in the developing and developed world.

The IUPC is unique in being the first truly trans-bi-lateral body representing all UK universities and polytechnics to meet. As such it is to be warmly welcomed. The question hanging over the IUPC however is whether the vice chancellors, directors and other top academics who are to serve upon it will, amid their other current preoccupations, be able to organize its work as to enable it to make a significant impact on the overseas relationships, particularly in an aid context. Of Britain's institutions of higher education and research—already sorely battered by the Government on the issue of overseas student fees. The opportunity is there; but will it be taken?

The set objective of the IUPC, like that of the Council of the IUC before it, is to foster higher education overseas through cooperation between British institutions and their counterparts abroad. The IUC however, had its own £2.5m budget, mostly derived by grant-in-aid from the Aid Ministry (ODA). This was deployed under its own authority by its executive and academic policy committees and its own small expert staff of employees. The IUPC has no executive authority no budget and no staff. All these have passed, at ODA insistence, to the British Council. The only slender bridge is that the IUPC nominates to the British Council, for their appointment if they have no objection, the academic members of the internal British Council advisory body (the Committee for International Cooperation in Higher Education—CICHE), which replaces the former IUC executive and academic policy committees. The IUPC is thus in a dangerously isolated situation, which is aggravated by having no secretariat of its own—at any rate as yet.

It is to be serviced by the British Council whose interests, and those of ODA (who treat all the British Council's aid-related work in this field as grant supported but is reimbursable as an "agency service"), thus making it wholly ODA controlled) are not obviously going to be best served by letting IUPC get its teeth into certain matters.

The IUPC must therefore attend, from the outset of its existence, to two

Richard Griffiths hails the birth of an organization aiming to help the cause of higher education abroad through co-operation between British institutes and their overseas counterparts.

matters if it is to avoid becoming just an electoral college and totally ineffective as a body representing the interests of British universities and polytechnics in their aid-related relationships with the Third World. It may of course be quite happy to be called together, at British Council expense, more and more infrequently as time goes on, to hear how many cultural exchanges with university institutions in Poland and China have taken place and how much money has been earned by the direct teaching of English now that it has become a respectable British Council activity; but ODA no longer regards aid to universities as important and it must therefore "take its chance" among the various functional "technical cooperation" programmes which ODA itself fixes in discussion with overseas recipient governments; and to receive reports from various sources about the interesting but mostly insoluble problems of the universities of Juba Mauritius and Lesotho.

This is worse than a waste of time and money: it is a pretence. It provides an appearance of IUPC involvement in decisions, programmes and procedures which are in fact settled by ODA officials and "in-house" advisers and executed, on an item-by-item reimbursement basis, as British Council activities in which the academics involved, and the institutions to which they belong, are mere hirelings. It is a far cry from the earlier official philosophy, carried through so successfully by Sir Andrew Cohen and Sir Christopher Cox, of a partnership between the British universities and the government by which the former, through the mechanism of the IUC, organized and undertook for the benefit of all concerned such aid as Britain could afford to give to higher education overseas.

For this ludicrous pretence to be avoided and for the real potential benefits of bringing together the analogous work of the British Council and of the former IUC (which remained separate for far too long after the British Council became ODA's paid agent in part of this field) to be achieved, two necessary steps for IUPC to take at

its meeting on July 9 are:

- To impress upon its nominees to CICHE the imperative necessity not only of keeping themselves abreast of the situation overseas but of monitoring closely through statistical and other indicators the actual nature and volume of aid services rendered to overseas institutions and the extent to which these services are using British universities and polytechnics as providers; and to require them to report to IUPC at each meeting on these matters and on any impediments which they have encountered in providing assistance and fostering cooperation in higher education and research in all countries, developed and developing.
- To create within their own institutions an effective system (for example by designating an internal focal point to which all domestic problems of international relations could be referred), for ensuring that they can themselves be thoroughly briefed on matters to raise at IUPC meetings.

To achieve these two steps will not be easy, for there is a fundamental difference of outlook towards this whole field of scholarly and professional, but non-governmental, cooperation between overseas countries between the ODA which wants to control it centrally in every detail (just as it is an Iron Curtain authority); the British Council, which tends to see everything it does in terms of the kudos which it may bring upon itself, and upon Britain in that order; and the British institutions involved whose expertise is essential, whose reward is minimal, and which are in some danger of being exploited by virtue of their mostly unselfish desire to help their overseas counterparts who so badly need and so eagerly seek their cooperation. As for the latter, to whom can they turn if IUPC fails in its task; and CICHE degenerates into the same state of frustrated impotence that ultimately beset the academic members of the British Council's India Committee for the encouragement of Indo-British university cooperation? (Does it even still exist?) Their marginal, but vital, requirements for short-term staffing assistance, for local staff training to hasten localization, for British books, equipment and above all spare parts, unobtainable locally; all in tiny quantities and values, will probably remain unsatisfied. Their capacity to serve the development needs of their own communities will wither; and Britain will lose yet more of its erstwhile friends.

Patrick Collinson

The author was formerly director of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas.

Europe becomes smaller

A striking change in taking place in the educational activities of the international organizations. The projects of the affluent years involving major international surveys and linked developed projects in a string of countries are giving way to more modest, sharply focussed and far less expensive schemes. Yet finance, though important, is not the only reason for the change. The new programmes are seen to have a considerably greater chance of influencing what actually happens in universities, colleges and schools.

A particularly good example of the genre is the Council of Europe's new programme for the development of postgraduate training. In classic international organization language the object of the project is seen to be: "to encourage European institutions of tertiary education and research to co-operate in the improvement of post-graduate curricula by a flexible, pragmatic and continuous adjustment of training programmes to further the advancement of knowledge and to meet the needs of, and new opportunities offered by our society."

In practice the programme will focus on a range of specialist areas in developing postgraduate studies, in which a number of European universities are already interested. The object is to allow the exchange of techniques, knowledge and ideas and to facilitate inter-university mobility by students, teachers and researchers. Each separate programme will culminate with either an intensive course or workshop built around contributions by leading experts in the field.

Participation at these workshops and courses is available on application to the Division for Higher Education and Research of the Council at Strasbourg; in most cases participants or their institutions will be expected to make arrangements to cover their costs.

As with the other studies in the emergent programme of postgraduate work in the development of postgraduate training offers a promising prospect of an effective and even immediate return. Certainly it epitomizes the new mood of the international organizations, a far cry from the heady and times mis-spent years of the 1960s and early 1970s.

John Eggleston

The author is professor of education at the University of Keele, and co-ordinator for the Council of Europe's European Workshop on Higher Education Curriculum Developments concerning multi-cultural studies.

BOOKS

The rationale for humanistic sociology

The Calling of Sociology and Other Essays on the Pursuit of Learning by Edward Shils
University of Chicago Press, £17.50
ISBN 0 226 75323 9

by Martin Bulmer

The proper calling of sociology today lies in the illumination of opinion. Having its point of departure in the human beings who make up the society, it is its task to return to opinion, clarified and deepened by dispassionate study and systematic reflection. To return effectively to opinion, to persuade by evidence and argument, to aid journalists, politicians, civil servants, and citizens to see in the light switched on by systematic observation and analysis, presupposes, however, a state of affinity between the sociologist and the bearers and guides of opinion whom he addresses. The bearers of opinion and the makers of policy are his fellow men, whom he studies, whose actions and thoughts are the data of his inquiries. He learns about them through the application of exact methods of observation in the matrix of a sense of affinity with them.

Thus in a famous essay in 1961 did Edward Shils sum up the calling of sociology as a learned, humane, and relevant search for knowledge about contemporary society. Twenty years later he returns to these themes in his third volume of collected papers, containing 10 essays on the nature and scope of sociology, the history of the social sciences, their relationship to policy-making, and the ethics of sociology.

The *Calling of Sociology* contains some of the most thoughtful and perceptive observations about the development of sociology to have appeared in recent years. Ranging widely across several fields, the unifying thread is a profound appreciation of the role of sociology in the learned scholar and his milieu: the university—in modern society, Sociology—like much else in this modern learned world—owes a great deal to the golden age of the German university; some coherence as a subject, the creation of a unifying general outlook and theory, and the development of a sociological sensibility. Several essays in the collection explore these historical roots in Britain, as well as in France, in Germany, and in the United States. Others consider the state of contemporary sociology and ask how, given its present disarray and imperfections, it has succeeded in gaining near-universal acceptance.

The first and central chapter of the book—one fifth of its 500 pages—is a rewritten version of the 1961 paper. It has few equals as a classic statement of the rationale for a humanistic sociology. Shils is clear-



Edward Shils

headed and sceptical about sociology's claims to be a science akin to natural science, but he does not therefore reduce the subject to a quasi-philosophical anthropology. A sense of the classic traditions—both in sociological theory and in the best of empirical research—suffuse the discussion of sociology's role as disciplined and systematic collective self-interpretation, part of "the vast, collective effort of the human mind to understand itself as a collectivity."

Three distinct traditions or strands are identified. Technological sociologists embrace scientism and utilitarianism, seeing themselves as skillful social engineers using applied knowledge for social betterment. "Oppositional" sociologists, on the other hand, find the societies in which they live wanting and take a critical stance towards existing social arrangements. Many classic sociologists—Toennies, Durkheim, Weber, Park and Cooley—took up such a stance, which is by no means confined to neo-Marxists or conflict theorists. "Consensual" sociologists differ from the two preceding types in placing less emphasis on manipulation, deception and coercion and more on the fundamental affinity between observer and observed. They recognize the common bonds linking all members of a society, the extent to which consensus as well as conflict promotes social integration. Shils's own predilection is clearly for the latter type, which might also be termed "humanistic". Though rejecting the claims of conflict theories as exaggerated, this view does not substitute a model of consensual integra-

tion. Rather it asserts the common humanity of observer and observed, the limitations of detachment and cynicism, and the need to address an audience outside of sociology itself.

One of the great pleasures of the book is the felicity and elegance of the author's prose. Shils is a master of the English language, and on that account alone is fully entitled to complain of the literary barbarousness of much sociology, combining opacity due to poor writing with lack of clarity due to abstractness and complexity of subject. As a result sociology becomes increasingly isolated and hermetic, "the laughing stock of literate persons", and ineffective to boot in the world of action. Several essays treat the relationship between social science and social policy perceptively, particularly "The pursuit of knowledge and the concern for the common good". Shils diagnoses a vast overestimation of the intellectual accomplishments of the social sciences, and urges more sobriety about their actual achievements in potential policy applications.

A realistic appreciation of those achievements, balancing credit and debit, is found throughout the book. Informed as it is with a deep historical sense, though there is much good current writing on the history of social theory and social thought, histories of sociology as a discipline are too easily become mere catalogues, though there are one or two exceptions such as Duncan Mitchell's *A Hundred Years of Sociology*. Shils provides some of the best general accounts of the history of the disci-

pline available anywhere, based on extraordinarily wide knowledge. The chapter on "Tradition, ecology and institution in the history of sociology", first published in 1970, is alone worth the price of the book (which compares favourably with that of many overpriced, short, British monographs). The key to understanding the development of sociology in this century is its institutionalization in the university. Sociology has flourished where it has been successfully institutionalized. This process, analysed for Germany, France, Britain and particularly the United States (also the subject of a separate chapter on "The contemplation of society in America"), a comparison of the influence of Karl Mannheim with that of the Frankfurt School is used to show how this factor of organization can override the sheer quality of the ideas of an individual or group. Sociology, moreover, is not artificially divided into separate traditions of social thought and of empirical inquiry. A most refreshing and necessary emphasis on the integration of theory and research appears throughout, with discussion of successful practitioners such as W.I. Thomas, Robert Park, Elton Mayo and Harold Lasswell.

The book is not without its faults, some of them rather substantial. A failure to edit rigorously results in some repetition between chapters. There are almost no footnotes or acknowledgements, so that statements cannot be verified. The absence of a bibliography and of an index are inexcusable in a work of this stature. The essay form lends itself to presenting a broad-brush picture on a large canvas. Some will be concerned at the resulting absence of detail on many points. The idiosyncrasies of the author are apparent in coverage—there is little discussion of many recent trends in sociology such as symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, Levi-Straussian structuralism or Althusserian Marxism. The author's predilections for waging war with the academic left surface very rarely, but when they do will irritate unnecessarily some readers. The rather conservative tone, however, is also a refreshing virtue in a subject where vaguely radical values and assumptions tend to be taken too readily for granted.

The virtues of *The Calling of Sociology* vastly outweigh these defects. It is one of the few attempts to characterize the general nature of the sociological enterprise which is likely to last. Though it will not command universal assent, it presents one distinctive and coherent assessment of the achievements and limitations of sociology as a form of knowledge. Beautifully written, it is grounded in a profound knowledge of western culture and is relieved from pomposity or dogmatism by a sense of irony and a high degree of detachment. A few years ago Steven Lukes termed Edward Shils "an academic high priest—at the very least a cardinal—of the late (American) sociological orthodoxy" of the 1950s. This inapt description might apply to his friend and former collaborator Talcott Parsons, but it entirely fails to capture the essence of Shils's style or influence. Paradoxically for a student of institutionalization, he has himself created no centre or "school", either in Britain or the United States. The not inconsiderable influence of the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago, with which he has been associated for more than a quarter of a century, has been of a different kind to that of the "Chicago school" of the 1920s about which he writes so perceptively.

Edward Shils, as these essays demonstrate, is a sort of latter-day philosopher, a scholar whose general learning spans several disciplines and whose view of the world is fundamentally a moral one. His concerns with the ethics of sociology and the autonomy of the individual show this just as much as does his ultimate dismissal of technological sociology as a "moral monstrosity" if it is to be used as a tool by which technocrats can control the human race. The task of the sociologist, recalling the formulation of 1961, is the general enlightenment of his or her fellow members of society, untrammelled by instrumental purpose and pursued as an end in itself, to advance knowledge.

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Industrialization and cultural conflict

The Poverty of Progress: Latin America in the nineteenth century by E. Bradford Burns
University of California Press, £7.75
ISBN 0 520 04160 7

It is now fairly widely accepted in the area of Third World politics and development studies that material improvement, particularly in the form of industrialization, is not necessarily the way forward for pre-capitalist societies. There is therefore a strong feeling of *disfit* about the argument confidently presented here as a novelty by Professor Burns. He writes that "this speculative essay asks the reader to consider revising some standard views... and to consider the possibility that cultures derived from Ibero-Afro-Indian experiences might have provided life-style alternatives more advantageous to the natives than the European modernization imposed on them." Let

us regard this essay," he goes on, "as the possible beginning of a reinterpretation."

Since it is fairly rare nowadays to meet people who hold the "standard views" mentioned by Burns, one suspects that he is writing as one newly converted away from them. He does in fact concede that his ideas, drawn principally from George M. Foster, are based on "historical revisionism already under way". But he uses the existing studies to advance the highly simplified proposition that "the triumph of progress... bequeathed a legacy of mass poverty and continued conflict". Starting out from the argument that "progress" and "modernization" were forced on Latin America by elites in the early nineteenth century, and that this created a "cultural clash", he suggests that "a study of cultural conflict can provide some useful insights".

The nature of this "cultural con-

flict" is, however, nowhere adequately examined; in fact Burns does little more than summarize the well-known literature, notably the city-country clash represented by Sarmiento's attack on *Fuencubida* and rural barbarism; but he also allows place in his argument for the elite's perception of the validity of rural culture, as expressed in da Cunha's *Rebellion in the Backlands*. The "elite preference", as he terms it, was imposed on the mind of nineteenth-century Latin America by its historians. To demonstrate this, he offers a rapid (15 pages) and extremely thin survey of the writings of 63 historians of the period. "Historians as a group," he says, in a generalization which will probably not stand up to examination, "still seem to subscribe to the fundamental tenet of the historiography of that century: modernization and consequently Europeanization were desirable, and conversely folk cultures

were detrimental".

After a short treatment of those, notably Alberdi, who attacked the elitist view, Burns moves on to his longest chapter, "The Folk Speak", which takes up a third of the book. It is a disappointment. Abandoning any detailed treatment of the question of "folk culture", which is mentioned several times, Burns dwells primarily on politics; on that, is, banality and revolts, and on the Paraguayan experience of 1870-71, which in his final chapter he categorizes as the only attempt to create a viable alternative to Europeanized progress, "the best example of genuine development as contrasted with growth". By emphasizing only the political dimension of the "people", he ends up contributing nothing to his stated programme: "Broadening the view of Latin America's past to include the intense cultural conflicts (and opening up) a wide range of topics, not the least of which would be

a discussion of communal life-styles". Professor Burns has, in short, presented an intelligent, provocative discussion paper, which suffers from two main defects: its principal postulate is heavily derivative from existing literature and is not markedly original; and, more important, he offers a programme on folk culture for which, oddly enough, he provides no prospectus. Indeed, he leads away from the cultural context by making his final chapter a straightforward summary about economic dependency. The book will stimulate questions, and will undoubtedly therefore be of value; but its approach is too diffuse, too unschematic, even too idealistic—the term "the folk" is used in an incantatory way—to achieve all its purposes.

Henry Kamen

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BOOKS

Untried panaceas

The French Revolution and the Poor
by Alan Forrest
Blackwell, £12.50
ISBN 0 631 10371 6

The French Revolution was a disaster for almost everybody who had to live through it. This is a truth often overlooked by people stirred by the drama, colour and ideological promise of that turbulent episode. Historians are even now only beginning to assess its human cost. Even its impact upon the nobility, supposedly so well known, has been introduced and obscured by generations of ill-informed or tendentious myth-making.

Its impact on the poor, between a third and a half of all French citizens, has received almost no attention except from Catholic historians anxious to demonstrate the dire effects of attacking a charitable church. But English-speaking students no longer have any excuse for ignorance in these matters, for Alan Forrest has provided them with a lucid and readable account of what being poor under the Revolution was like. Thanks to him and to Olwen Hufton, whose pioneering work in this field he constantly acknowledges, we now have a detailed picture of poverty in France from 1750 to the advent of Napoleon.

It is a story of intensifying misery, to which the Revolution gave a final vicious twist. Even before 1789 the numbers of the poor were inexorably rising, generating a concern in the upper ranks of society which Dr Forrest underestimates and under-documented. The established relief organizations, most of them connected with the church, were ever more plainly inadequate. Olwen Hufton's now classic analysis has shown that the poor coped with their plight, where they coped at all, through resorting to "makeshifts" ranging from odd jobs, migration and begging, to smuggling, petty theft, prostitution and abandoning their children.

The Revolution's contribution was to swell the numbers of the poor, eliminate many of the more obvious makeshifts, and destroy the old structure of charity. At one point (though Dr Forrest neglects to mention it) the Convention

actually banned both begging and private almsgiving. It was not that the revolutionaries deliberately set out to make the poor poorer or more miserable. Quite the reverse: from the start they talked, dreamed and planned endless schemes for eliminating poverty entirely, or at least relieving it adequately, by state action. But beyond dismantling what provisions existed already, nothing was actually done.

Dr Forrest believes we should respect and admire the sincerity of the untried panaceas, especially the more grandiose and utopian ones ventilated in the Year II. Their failure, he argues, stems from the flawed assumptions of the age about the nature and causes of poverty, from a tax-base not rich enough to fund a welfare state, from the insatiable claims of the revolutionary wars on public priorities, and finally from the Directory's abandonment of the ideal of state provision and its pragmatic return to more traditional approaches. He clearly regards attempts to reanimate private poor relief as retrograde. Yet confronted with the massive record of suffering and horror which he presents, it is surprising to find him so kind to the rhetoricians and so hard on the realists.

But his verdict on the evidence is ambivalent throughout. Although he substantiates the Catholic historians' claim that the Revolution was a catastrophe for the poor, he insists on denigrating them. Although the role of the rich in poor relief is shown to be central both before 1789 and after 1795, he cannot stop himself from sneering at them. And his account of public discussion about poverty before the Revolution seems designed more to dismiss than to analyse people's concern. This, I suspect, is because deep down Dr Forrest clings to the belief that somehow the Revolution, and above all the Montagnard Republic, must have been a Good Thing. I wonder if the poor he so vividly documents would have agreed.

William Doyle

William Doyle is professor elect of modern history at the University of Nottingham.

BOOKS
An agreeable wilderness

Winston S. Churchill, companion volume five, part two: The Wilderness Years 1929-1935
edited by Martin Gilbert
Hennemann, £65.00
ISBN 0 434 29199 4

This enormous volume of documents covers the first six years of Churchill's ten-year exile from office between the wars.

At the beginning of the period he welcomed his freedom, and went off gallily with his son Randolph on a tour of Canada and the United States. Soon, though, he was drawn into political conflict with the leadership of the Conservative Party over its acceptance of the goal of dominion status for India. This led to Churchill's resignation from the Conservative Business Committee (the title then used for the Shadow Cabinet) in January 1931, and to a long campaign in the Commons, in the party and in the country to try to defeat the Government's India Bill, ending only when the bill was enacted in 1935. The outline of his views on this topic was very well put by Victor Cazalet, who noted in his diary:

He prophesies a very nationalistic world - a world of armaments and self-contained nations. There will be, he said, an immense struggle to keep up the standard of life, and an absolute necessity for us to maintain the Empire for the export of our goods.

This meant, both for Churchill and for his son Randolph, basing the India campaign upon propaganda and electioneering in Lancashire, whose textile industry was dependent upon the trade with India.

The campaign was hard-fought, but unsuccessful; and the extravagance of some of Churchill's language was to damage his subsequent, even more important cause, of reviving public concern about German expansionism. Speaking of Gandhi, for instance, Churchill had said "It is no use trying to satisfy a tiger by feeding him with cat's meat". This language might far more appropriately have been used of the Indian hunger-striker. It seems clear that Churchill did not disapprove of dictators as such; he evidently thought well of the Hoare-Laval proposals, which were designed to appease Mussolini's Italy. But in the course of 1935 he grew increasingly alarmed at the speed at which the new Nazi Germany was rearming, especially in the air, and he

felt that Britain was being left behind in preparations for an imminent conflict. He was receiving information from men in key posts within the governmental machine, who were disturbed by the inaction of their masters. We read here letters and advice from, among others, Desmond Morton, Ralph Wigram and Robert Vansittart.

But straightforward politics formed only a small portion of Churchill's life in these years of parliamentary opposition, or parliamentary discontent. The great bulk of his time was devoted to the preparation of books and articles, from which he drew an enormous literary income. The scale of his earnings may be judged by his contract with Cassells in 1932 to write a *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, in return for a lump sum of £20,000. Mr Gilbert comments that by early 1939 this work would be the equivalent of £250,000. This grandiose work was not actually being written in the period of this volume of documents: in fact it was not completed until the 1950s. Here we find Churchill first proudly circulating presentation copies of *My Early Life* to his friends and acquaintances, and occasionally receiving very revealing replies: Ramsay MacDonald, for instance, replied that he was sure that he could not equal it: "You are an interesting cuss - I, a dull dog". The Prince of Wales wrote rather wistfully: "I only wish I had even half of the experience you have, to write about it. My travels have all been far too stereotyped for my taste".

Churchill's major literary activity in these years was the preparation of his life of Marlborough, and this volume tells us much more about the method of his research, and of the assistance that he secured, on payment, from academics, both young and old, from military and naval experts, and from typists and skilled proof-readers. His expenses during 1935 alone amounted to just under £4,000, though this covered not only the work on Marlborough but also the composition and delivery of articles for newspapers and magazines and an advance to Keith Felling of Christ Church, Oxford, for initial work on the *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*.

Of all the media, only the BBC remained, for most of the period, obstinately closed to Churchill's voice; and this was the more serious, for at the time it held the monopoly of radio in Britain. Only once, in January 1935, was Churchill allowed to hold forth as he wished "on the broadcast", as he called it, about the future of India. This

broadcast, and two or three more general utterances which he was permitted, are printed by Mr Gilbert in stanza form that he was to use again during the war for the talks that he made him famous in the medium. It was the long run, the introduction of commercial television in the 1950s, owed not a little to Churchill's sense of grievance, formed at this time, over the BBC's monopoly and his exclusion from the air by the whims of the party whips.

The details of his life at Chartwell, emerge delightfully from a series of "bulletins" which he wrote to his wife when she went on a long cruise to New Zealand. Her husband told her the activities of their children, the behaviour of their pets, and of a work of a bulldozer which had been ordered to transform the Chartwell landscape. Although by 1935 Churchill had acquired a flat in Piccadilly, the great bulk of his work at Chartwell was there that he also extended his suzerainty, sometimes indulgent, sardonically tempestuous, over his considerable body of servants, his weekend visitors, if there were "wilderness years", the wilderness far from disagreeable.

Mr Gilbert's editing of this volume is, as usual, careful and thorough, deriving almost all of his material from the vast Churchill archives, and of course, new to those who have had the privilege of examining the collection; but where appropriate also brings in evidence from other sources, such as the Baldwin papers, Cambridge University Library, India Office Library, and Lord's manuscripts. The footnotes are designed to introduce all the *personae* as they appear, and to do fully enough to make them independent from the other volumes in the series. The casual reader, who will have some difficulty with names, such as "Maxine", or still, nicknames, such as "M", this is of some importance. This book is hardly one to be read single sitting, but rather to be dipped into by students re-examining their role in the period, or alternatively dipped into - almost certainly pleasure - by the general reader.

Henry Pe

Henry Pelling is a fellow of St John's College, Cambridge.

BOOKS

Utopian enthusiasm for social engineering

Utopia and the Ideal Society: a study of English utopian writing, 1516-1700
by J. C. Davis
Cambridge University Press, £25.00
ISBN 0 521 23396 8

The achievement of this grandly conceived survey of early modern utopian writing might appear on a superficial scanning and on currently acceptable methodological principles to be no achievement at all.

In form the book is a catalogue, with close but conventional textual analysis, of a number of ideal societies, from More's *Utopia* to the proto-Owenite schemes of Quaker philanthropists in the late seventeenth century. But were it only a mere catalogue it would be obliged to infer irrelevant and even non-existent connections between the items to support an invented "tradition" of utopian thought. Such a catalogue would be consulted only as a guide to the little-known and more inaccessible utopias, the *New Atlantis* of the otherwise unknown "R.H." (1660) rather than the *New Atlantis* of the very well-known Francis Bacon.

However, J. C. Davis knows that there is no real, self-conscious tradition of utopian thought. He identifies a mode of social idealization (or rather several modes) claiming that what utopian writers have in common is their subjection to the

discipline of this mode. Mr Davis's subject is, therefore, the form of its philosophical content, and this approach enables him to break with accepted evaluations of the works.

Consequently the author's real achievement is to distinguish with greater care than some previous students of the subject between the properly utopian mode of social idealization and alternative modes, which can be reduced to four: Cockayne, Arcadia, the Millennium and what Davis calls the "perfect moral commonwealth". The essence of utopianism is not the dream of a better world, which it shares with the other modes. Nor does it consist in the device of giving shape and form to a fictionalized "nowhere". Its distinctiveness lies in the answer it provides to the common problem of social existence in the real world, which Davis defines as "limited satisfactions exposed to unlimited want".

The answers proposed in all five modes imply certain assumptions about the nature of man, individually and as a social being, and of the relationship of man to space and time. Cockayne and Arcadia concur in finding the solution in the full satisfaction of appetite, the difference between them consisting in the gross maximization of animal appetites in the Cockayne of the

peasant imagination and the more equitable adjustment of moderate appetites to a bountiful nature which occurs in Arcadia. Conversely, the advocates of a perfect moral commonwealth believe that man has the moral capacity to curb his collective and individual appetites. The utopian, on the other hand, refuses to idealize either nature or man. He is identified by a realism amounting to a pervasive pessimism: a pessimism about supply, which separates him from the first two modes, a pessimism about human nature which distinguishes him from the third. The pessimism of the Christian, Augustinian moralist was indeed the utopian's hallmark; it prevented Bacon from visualizing a perfect moral commonwealth and inhibited the classical republicanism of Harrington, even in the "Machiavellian moment" of the English Revolution.

It follows that the idealizations of the utopian are always organizational and even bureaucratic, characterized by a mania for social engineering. The utopian mode is marked by an elaborate apparatus of social control designed to cope with the fundamental deficiencies inherent in both man and nature. Since the utopian desires order he protests against man from the consequences of individual disorder and the collective disorder which is the result of common Christian values. Their fantasies were only a lit-

tle more extravagant than the contents of the Statute Book and they were the fantasies of a polity which found it easier to conceptualize its salvation than to accomplish it.

Both utopians and legislators were far removed from reality, but the utopians were prophets and perhaps more than prophets for they prefigured the development of the modern state and prepared the language and conceptual tools which accompanied its emergence. And here Davis makes a large but plausible claim: the form of the modern state, prefigured in the form of utopian writing, is a fact of greater significance, because more universal, than any of the opposed ideologies which provide modern states with their ostensible objectives. Modern dystopian writers confront with distrust a utopian bureaucracy which actually works, and which threatens ever greater uniformity and diminishing freedom and responsibility. But since there are no longer any shared moral values, the twentieth-century dystopian who hopes for more than a secularist audience finds himself writing from a profoundly anti-social, even anarchical stance.

Patrick Collinson is professor of history at the University of Kent.

The mistakes of the moralists

The Diversity of Moral Thinking
by Neil Cooper
Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, £15.00
ISBN 0 19 824423 1

Friendship, Altruism and Morality
by Laurence Blum
Routledge & Kegan Paul, £10.00
ISBN 0 7100 0582 2

It is the fashion for books on moral philosophy to begin with the confident assertion that pretty well everything everybody else has said on the subject is mistaken, and to follow with the comforting assurance that what the author himself is about to say will put everything right. Because they are competing against so many other books it is perhaps understandable that authors are fond of this way of riving attention. But they should beware. The device becomes counter-productive when the reader begins to feel that the condemnation handed out is not all that well-founded nor the enlightenment offered all that new.

Both Neil Cooper and Laurence Blum accuse their contemporaries. Neil Cooper thinks other moral philosophers guilty of what he calls "discovery of normativism"; and Laurence Blum rebukes them for insufficient attention to the altruistic emotions. Are their strictures upon others justified; and is what they themselves have to offer a truly novel corrective?

Mr Cooper in the three parts of his book argues persuasively for the following theses. First, that the rival accounts which philosophers have given of the logic of morals are all one-sided. Second, that there is no real objectivity in morals. Third, that a unified conception of what a morality ought to be can be constructed out of the one-sided insights of other philosophers and expressed in certain principles of rationality which serve as a substitute for the concept of objective truth.

His book is a model of analysis. It ranges over most of the central issues in contemporary British moral philosophy and abounds in illuminating distinctions and enlight-

ening contrasts - between "directions of fit", types of prescriptivity, different senses of wanting, of objectivity, of normativity, of rationality, and so on. One cannot praise too highly the clarity and penetration of this. It makes Mr Cooper's book required reading for all who work in the subject.

His criticism of other moral philosophers is frequently trenchant. For instance, against the view that moral judgments, in order to make sense, must be in accordance with traditional conceptions of vice or virtue, he argues effectively for what he calls a perpetual possibility of deviance. Though moral terms undoubtedly acquire descriptive meanings in any given society, it is always logically possible, so long as anything recognizable as morality remains, to change established conceptions of vice or virtue. With this opinion I have great sympathy. But I think it an excess of triumphalism to suggest, as Mr Cooper does, that most if not all modern philosophers, in their analyses of morality, have simply taken some favoured feature of their own society's substantive morality (for example, that we ought to make our own moral decisions) and represented it as the logically essential characteristic of any conceivable morality (for example, that decisions can only be moral if we make them ourselves). There may be a great deal in the criticism that others have given one-sided answers to the definitional question but Mr Cooper offers nothing which looks to me like conclusive evidence for the charge that they are guilty of chicanery as well as error.

In his own positive account of what morality ought to be, Mr Cooper ranges over a number of topics with his customary analytical skill - morality as both prospective (getting something done) and retrospective (judging what has been done); the kinds of reason which can be given for moral judgments; morality as following out a vision rather than a set of rules; the place of emotion in morals; self-interested altruism as the core of morality; morality as more than a bargain, that is, as friendship rather than justice. All this sheds light on the subject. But it seems to

me to be, in large part, light gathered (quite properly) from other men's lamps, not new light shining through a prevailing darkness.

Laurence Blum makes easier reading than Cooper. His theme throughout is the part which sympathy, compassion and concern for others play in morality. He deplores the importance which has been given by Anglo-American philosophers to reason rather than emotion, impartiality rather than friendship, universalizability rather than particularity, in their analysis of morality. With a wealth of illustration he develops his seductive theme that the heart of the matter is not willing that which we could make a universal law but that to which our intensely personal feelings for particular individuals prompt us. It seems to me, however, that Mr Blum's book does scant justice to those philosophers who have thought of universalizability as the consequence of our need for reasons why some things are morally better than others. Reasons, however specific they may be, are universal. If friendship is the reason for moral goodness here, it must be the reason there as well. Surely Blum has to agree; otherwise why on earth has he written a book commending friendship to the world at large?

Then again, if morality is grounded in altruistic emotions, we can practice it only in so far as we feel such emotions. We cannot command altruistic emotion in ourselves at will. On Blum's view, therefore, morality is hypothetical and its imperative is: If you are a kindly person, you ought to do this because it will express your kindness. I hope I do him no injustice, but I did seem to me that the new thing in his book was that it provides everybody with a perfect excuse for any form of immoral behaviour. "You can't blame me if I don't like people". Now does that light up morality or simply confuse it with something else?

W. D. Hudson

W. D. Hudson is reader in moral philosophy at the University of Exeter.

Covering the period February 19 1697 to January 27 1700 (letters 2199 to 2664), the sixth volume of *The Correspondence of John Locke* has been published by Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press at £42.50. The series is edited by E. S. de Beer.

Leszek Kolakowski's three-volume *Main Currents of Marxism*, translated by P. S. Filla, is now available from Oxford University Press in paperback form. The volumes, entitled *The Founders*, *The Golden Age* and *The Breakdown* are priced at £3.95 each.

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Professor Bantock calls for a restoration of the humanistic literary and historical balance in our educational thinking in a controversial and challenging study. Anthony O'Hear's *Education, Society and Human Nature*, translated by P. S. Filla, is now available from Oxford University Press in paperback form. The volumes, entitled *The Founders*, *The Golden Age* and *The Breakdown* are priced at £3.95 each.

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Victorian women under expert surveillance

Victorian Women: a documentary account of women's lives in nineteenth-century England, France, and the United States
edited by Erna Olfson Hellerstein, Leslie Parker Hume, and Karen M. Offen
Harvester Press, £25.00
ISBN 0 7108 0684 3

"She needs the closest watching", warned a nineteenth-century Parisian doctor before going on to tell his readers exactly how to steer a young girl safely through "the brilliant and stormy crisis" of puberty. "Whereas before puberty", he explains, "she existed but for herself alone, having reached this age, the spring time of life, when all her charms are in bloom, she now belongs to the entire species which she is destined to perpetuate".

The awkward fusion of this expert's authoritative tones and his cloying imagery which contrives to depict the girl as both fragile blossom and fated breeder is characteristic of the ambivalent attitudes so richly documented in *Victorian Women*. This massive compilation brings together a wide range of writing by and about women from various social classes, cultures and environments in order to unsettle the complacent idea that we know all about the Victorians and have left their dilemmas behind us. The material is organized around

the female life cycle, making it possible to trace the stages between a woman's often unwelcome arrival into the world (only in America, apparently, was the birth of a girl not always something of a disappointment) and her eventual attainment of what another doctor, an Englishman this time, described as the "autumnal majesty" that lay beyond menopause, another crisis requiring careful management, watchfulness, and medical ingenuity.

Numerous extracts from prescriptive literature, such as advice manuals and handbooks, are included to demonstrate the extent to which women in nineteenth-century England, France, and the United States were increasingly watched as well as watched over by a growing class of professional experts. Particularly in the areas of health and education, as the editors point out, this meant that the home, supposedly women's special sphere of expertise, gradually lost its autonomy. The trend was towards standardization, with printed advice taking over from the traditional lore and rituals through which women had previously exchanged the information they needed. The consequences of this become clear when, for example, medical texts censuring contraception and abortion are read alongside letters from a young American wife to her girlhood friend; the women's anxious interest in the rumour of "a sure way of limiting one's family"

comes over as illicit, even subversive. Whether testifying to a parliamentary commission or, as in one mother's case, contending with a bossy nurse who seems to care more about her professional reputation than the baby's comfort, women constantly found themselves under the severe eye of some expert or another. But this is only part of the picture; there are plenty of items in this collection to show that women were watching themselves just as keenly. Letters and personal journals are well represented; it is here that disparities between the ideal images promoted by the manual-writers and the realities of women's physical circumstances and actual experiences emerge most dramatically. At one point in the section dealing with the adult woman and work, Mrs Beeton, the arch-professionalizer of household tasks, is found instructing us in the "duty" of preparing "so as to meet Old Christmas with a happy face, a contented mind, and a full larder"; a few pages later a Kansas homesteader is writing to her father back East: "We've been obliged to tell the children that Santa Claus will not come here this year; everybody is so poor, and need food and clothes so much it won't pay him to bring any playthings".

The same woman, who died before she was thirty, also records bartering pretty dresses from home so as to obtain necessary furniture, labour, and provisions, an episode that lingers in the mind when a London disclaimer in the 1840s attributes "the present evils" of working conditions to the impatience of her employer's fashionable clientele. Within England itself, there is an upper-class girl's evocation of life in a Brighton boarding school to compare with a sixteen-year-old mineworker's statement, "I have never been to school except four times, and then I give over because I could not get things to go in".

Similarly stark contrasts played a poignant part in the rhetoric of Victorian social critics like Ruskin and Dickens, but it would be misleading to suggest that in *Victorian Women* they are being used to support any airy simplifications. Anomalies and injustices are revealed by the documents themselves, and the purpose of the helpful commentary is to provide historical context, not to elicit specific reactions and interpretations. The result is a complex and diversified panorama which not only manages to debunk more than one myth (notably that of the passionless or at best sexually stoical Victorian woman) but also lends weight to the editors' conjecture that precisely because of all that surveillance, women became more and more interested in themselves and each other - and consequently, more demanding. This, perhaps,

accounts for the mingled assertiveness, mutual concern and individuality of so many of the female voices recorded here. In them Mrs Gaskell's in a well-remembered letter crumpled with womanly and practical advice to a young woman struggling to combine writing and housekeeping.

It is sometimes argued that women excel as writers of letters and journals because a "woman" need not claim importance. Victorian women, however, implies that this too is a myth; the submissive stereotypical present in this book is so too is the indignant housewife spitting out a stream of unvarying domestic abuse.

"De Lawd forgive da de woman, but she have to 'speak' and look for some others to 'plish de earth'. No one can do it alone, and no single reality persists through the time, and the effect of *Victorian Women* is to make commentators and literary expostulators who have supposed a composite "Victorian Woman" exist.

Dr Shaw is lecturer in English at the University of Edinburgh.

Valerie

Universities continued

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE
OXFORD
COLLEGE LECTURESHIP
IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE
AND LITERATURE

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a College Lectureship for three years in English Language and Literature with effect from 1 January, 1982, or as soon as possible thereafter. Candidates should be prepared to teach at least two of the following: Old English Literature, Middle English Literature, History of the Language. It would be an advantage if teaching experience in post-Renaissance literature could also be offered. Candidates will be expected to teach up to twelve hours a week, to engage in research, and to participate in administrative and pastoral work.

The appointment salary will be £20,000 at age 24, £24,478 at 25, and £28,956 at 26 and over, rising by annual increments, together with certain benefits and allowances.

Applications, with details of career and publications and the names of three referees, should be sent, not later than 18 July, 1981, to the Senior Tutor, from whom further particulars may be obtained.

MONASH UNIVERSITY
Melbourne, Australia
CHAIR OF
VISUAL ARTS

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for appointment to the Chair of Visual Arts. The Department currently offers undergraduate courses and postgraduate supervision in Visual Art and Architecture and film studies with special interest in Australian art and architecture. Monash University, Australia. The Department teaches the history and criticism of art, and practical instruction in art or film-making is given. The Professor, on appointment, will be Chairman of the Department. Enquiries about the Department should be directed to the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Professor J. D. Legg, in the University.

Salary \$44,529 p.a. (Superannuation payable on retirement). Temporary housing allowance. Information on application procedure and further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria 3168, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

AUSTRALIA
UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY
THE AUSTRALIAN
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
AT ARTHUR HOUSE

DEPUTY DIRECTOR

Applications are invited for the position of Deputy Director of the Institute. The appointee should be a qualified archaeologist with a minimum of five years' experience in the field of archaeological research, including field excavation, and should have a good knowledge of the history and development of the Institute. The appointee will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the Institute, and will be expected to engage in research and to supervise the work of the staff.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

AUSTRALIA
UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY
LECTURER IN NUMERICAL
ANALYSIS

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Lectureship in Numerical Analysis. The appointee should have a PhD in Mathematics and a strong background in numerical analysis, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of numerical analysis.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

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AUSTRALIA
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Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Lectureship in Biochemistry. The appointee should have a PhD in Biochemistry and a strong background in the field of biochemistry, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of biochemistry.

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DUBLIN
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Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a one-year appointment in the Department of Agricultural Science. The appointee should have a PhD in Agricultural Science and a strong background in the field of agricultural science, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of agricultural science.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

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BELFAST
THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
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OF INDUSTRIAL STUDIES

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for the position of Director of the Institute of Industrial Studies. The appointee should have a PhD in Industrial Studies and a strong background in the field of industrial studies, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of industrial studies.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

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NEW ZEALAND
UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
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LECTURER IN COMPUTER
SCIENCE

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Lectureship or Senior Lectureship in Computer Science. The appointee should have a PhD in Computer Science and a strong background in the field of computer science, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of computer science.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

LIVERPOOL
UNIVERSITY OF
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Lectureship in the School of Education. The appointee should have a PhD in Education and a strong background in the field of education, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of education.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE
UNIVERSITY OF
SENIOR LIBRARY ASSISTANT

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Senior Library Assistant position in the University Library. The appointee should have a minimum of five years' experience in library work and a good knowledge of the history and development of the library. The appointee will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the library, and will be expected to engage in research and to supervise the work of the staff.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

DURHAM
UNIVERSITY OF
LECTURESHIP IN
GEOGRAPHY

Applications are invited for a Lectureship in Geography. The appointee should have a PhD in Geography and a strong background in the field of geography, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of geography.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

DURHAM
UNIVERSITY OF
ENVIRONMENTAL
ARCHAEOLOGIST
(PART-TIME)

Applications are invited for a part-time position as Environmental Archaeologist. The appointee should have a PhD in Environmental Archaeology and a strong background in the field of environmental archaeology, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of environmental archaeology.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

LONDON
UNIVERSITY OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH COLLEGE
KEMENYI LIBRARY

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Lectureship in the Kemenyi Library. The appointee should have a PhD in Library Studies and a strong background in the field of library studies, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of library studies.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE
UNIVERSITY OF
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Lectureship in the Department of Economics. The appointee should have a PhD in Economics and a strong background in the field of economics, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of economics.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

NEW ZEALAND
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY
LECTURER IN ENGLISH

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Lectureship in English. The appointee should have a PhD in English and a strong background in the field of English, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of English.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

LIVERPOOL
UNIVERSITY OF
DEPARTMENT OF MECHANICAL
ENGINEERING

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Lectureship in the Department of Mechanical Engineering. The appointee should have a PhD in Mechanical Engineering and a strong background in the field of mechanical engineering, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of mechanical engineering.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

Polytechnics

LECTURER II/SENIOR LECTURER
IN EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

To teach to Honours and possibly M.Ed. standard. Applicants should be well qualified, with teaching experience. Interest in Educational Management welcomed. Required from 1st September 1981 or January 1982. Application forms and details from: Staffing Officer, The Polytechnic, Wolverhampton WV1 1SB (0902 710654 - ansephone).

THE POLYTECHNIC, HUDDERSFIELD
DEPARTMENT OF CATERING STUDIES
SENIOR LECTURER/
LECTURER II -
CATERING STUDIES

A graduate or equivalent in hotel and catering administration is required with managerial experience in the catering sector of the industry. Experience at college level and the ability to offer specialisation in the economic and financial aspects of the industry would be an advantage. An interest in research is required. Salary: £12,141 - £15,482 (bar) £12,141 - £15,482 (bar) £12,141 - £15,482 (bar). Application forms and details from: The Personnel Office, The Polytechnic, Huddersfield HD1 1TA (0484 2157).

LONDON
POLYTECHNIC OF CENTRAL
LONDON
LECTURER IN POLITICAL
SCIENCE

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Lectureship in Political Science. The appointee should have a PhD in Political Science and a strong background in the field of political science, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of political science.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

MIDDLESEX POLYTECHNIC
LECTURER IN POLITICAL
SCIENCE

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Lectureship in Political Science. The appointee should have a PhD in Political Science and a strong background in the field of political science, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of political science.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

NORTH EAST LONDON
POLYTECHNIC
FACULTY OF ENGINEERING,
BARKING PRECINCT,
DAUGHAM, ESSEX

Principal Lecturer required for post of course in Mechanical Engineering. The appointee should have a PhD in Mechanical Engineering and a strong background in the field of mechanical engineering, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of mechanical engineering.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

SUNDERLAND
POLYTECHNIC
Faculty of Humanities
Department of Languages and
Cultures
PRINCIPAL LECTURER IN
COMMUNICATIVE STUDIES

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Principal Lectureship in Communicative Studies. The appointee should have a PhD in Communicative Studies and a strong background in the field of communicative studies, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of communicative studies.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

LONDON
MIDDLESEX POLYTECHNIC
LECTURER IN POLITICAL
SCIENCE

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Lectureship in Political Science. The appointee should have a PhD in Political Science and a strong background in the field of political science, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of political science.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

LONDON
POLYTECHNIC OF CENTRAL
LONDON
LECTURER IN POLITICAL
SCIENCE

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Lectureship in Political Science. The appointee should have a PhD in Political Science and a strong background in the field of political science, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of political science.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

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POLYTECHNIC OF CENTRAL
LONDON
LECTURER IN POLITICAL
SCIENCE

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The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

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LONDON
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LONDON
LECTURER IN POLITICAL
SCIENCE

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Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

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LONDON
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LONDON
LECTURER IN POLITICAL
SCIENCE

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The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

LONDON
POLYTECHNIC OF CENTRAL
LONDON
LECTURER IN POLITICAL
SCIENCE

Colleges of Higher Education continued

School of Information Studies

Applications are invited from persons with appropriate qualifications and experience for the following posts:

L2/SL IN ORGANISATION STUDIES/OFFICE MANAGEMENT

L2/SL IN DATA PROCESSING

The School of Information Studies offers a unique BA Secretarial Studies degree, has an advanced Word Processing Centre and undertakes research and consultancy related to applications of micro-technology in business.

Salary: £12,141 - £15,482 (bar) £12,141 - £15,482 (bar) £12,141 - £15,482 (bar).

Full details and application forms are available from: The Personnel Office.

Hull College of
Higher Education

Ingle Avenue, Hull HU8 7LU.
Tel: (0482) 42157.

SOUTH GLAMORGAN COUNTY COUNCIL
South Glamorgan Institute of Higher Education (Cardiff)
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
Department of Physical Education

LECTURER II - PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons to commence duties on 1st September 1981. Applicants should be graduates with specialist physical education qualifications, who possess, if possible, appropriate experience in similar institutions of higher education.

The successful applicant will be required to lecture to the B.A. (Hons.) Human Movement Studies Degree Course in Athletics and Movement Analysis. Specialisation in the practical areas of football, hockey, tennis, swimming, dance and outdoor education will also be a requirement.

Salary: £12,141 - £15,482 (bar) £12,141 - £15,482 (bar) £12,141 - £15,482 (bar).

Application forms and details from: The Personnel Office, South Glamorgan Institute of Higher Education, Cardiff CF2 6XD, and should be returned within fourteen days of the publication of this advertisement.

PERSONNEL
MANAGEMENT

Applications are invited for a Lecturer in L2/SL level to teach on a wide range of undergraduate and industrial diploma courses.

Salary: £12,141 - £15,482 (bar) £12,141 - £15,482 (bar) £12,141 - £15,482 (bar).

Full details and application forms may be obtained from: The Personnel Office.

Hull College of
Higher Education

Ingle Avenue, Hull HU8 7LU.
Tel: (0482) 42157.

PLYMOUTH
COLLEGE OF ART AND
DESIGN

**LECTURER IN POLITICAL
SCIENCE**

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Lectureship in Political Science. The appointee should have a PhD in Political Science and a strong background in the field of political science, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of political science.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

FELLOWS

**ILKLEY
COLLEGE**

SL/II IN MATHEMATICS

The successful candidate will be required to lecture to the B.A. (Hons.) Mathematics Degree Course in Mathematics. Specialisation in the practical areas of mathematics will also be a requirement.

Salary: £12,141 - £15,482 (bar) £12,141 - £15,482 (bar) £12,141 - £15,482 (bar).

Application forms and details from: The Personnel Office, Ilkley College, Ilkley, West Yorkshire LS28 9SD.

MANCHESTER
UNIVERSITY OF
Department of Botany
Postgraduate Research
Fellowship

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Postgraduate Research Fellowship. The appointee should have a PhD in Botany and a strong background in the field of botany, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of botany.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

Hull College of
Higher Education

Ingle Avenue, Hull HU8 7LU.
Tel: (0482) 42157.

Fellows continued

OXFORD CENTRE FOR POSTGRADUATE
HEBREW STUDIES

**Fellowship in Modern European
Jewish History and/or Thought**

The Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies invites to elect a Fellow in Modern European Jewish History and/or Thought. The Fellow will be required to engage in research and to lecture or hold classes under the aegis of the Centre. The Fellow will be expected to take part in the administration of the Centre.

Evidence of scholarly attainment or promise must be provided. Preference may be given to candidates under 35 years of age and to those who have experience of teaching at university level. The appointment will be for two years and remuneration will be on the scale £8,515 to £9,526.

Applications, including a curriculum vitae, a list of publications, and the names and addresses of three academic referees, should be submitted by 14 August to the President, Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, 46 St. Giles, Oxford OX1 3JW. The successful candidate will be expected to take up the Fellowship on 1 October 1981, or as soon as possible thereafter.

Research

Research Fellowship in
British Local History

Applications are invited for a Research Fellowship in British Local History for one year to carry out a study of primary source material on historic earthquakes in Britain.

The work will be based at the Polytechnic of Central London and related to a project being undertaken by Soli Mechanics Limited, Bracknell. The salary would be £22,100 including London Allowance and the person appointed would be expected to begin the assignment as soon as possible.

The applicants, who should have graduate research experience, should send full curriculum vitae and the names of two referees to: Dr B. O. Skipp, Soli Mechanics Limited, Foundation House, Eastern Road Bracknell, BERKS RG12 2JZ.

PLYMOUTH
POLYTECHNIC

Departments of
Communication Engineering
and
Marine Science

RESEARCH
ASSISTANT
REMOTE SENSING
SOFTWARE

Applications are invited from candidates with a good honours degree to work on an interdepartmental project funded by the Science Research Council. The successful candidate will help to develop software for an experimental digital image processor in order to analyse aerial photographs of inland waters. This requires algorithm selection and valid validation using sea truth.

The project is funded for two years starting salary £6,827 p.a. with the possibility of extension for a third year. Research Assistants usually register for a CNAH high degree.

Application forms to be returned as soon as possible can be obtained with further details from the Personnel Office, Plymouth Polytechnic, Drake Circus, Plymouth PL4 8AA.

RESEARCH
ASSISTANT

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Research Assistant position in the Department of Botany. The appointee should have a PhD in Botany and a strong background in the field of botany, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of botany.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

RESEARCH
ASSISTANT

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Research Assistant position in the Department of Botany. The appointee should have a PhD in Botany and a strong background in the field of botany, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of botany.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

RESEARCH
ASSISTANT

Applications are invited from suitably qualified men and women for a Research Assistant position in the Department of Botany. The appointee should have a PhD in Botany and a strong background in the field of botany, including the use of computers. The appointee will be responsible for teaching and supervising research in the field of botany.

The salary is at professional level, £17,014, with contribution to superannuation under the FSS or USS.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, or the Secretary General, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1, 35 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP.

Applications should reach the Registrar, not later than 24 July 1981. The Council reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation at any stage.

Research continued

The Polytechnic
of Wales
RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

**DEPARTMENT OF BEHAVIOURAL
AND COMMUNICATIONS STUDIES**

Project Title: Syntactico-semantic development of children aged 6 to 12.

Aims: To study the overall development of syntax and the corresponding areas of semantics, in relation to individual, social and situational variables.

Suitable Applicants: Graduates (with or without postgraduate experience) specialised in linguistics and/or child language development, statistics, computer programming.

**DEPARTMENT OF MANAGEMENT
AND LEGAL STUDIES**

Project Title: Leasehold Reform.

Aims: Investigation into the legal aspects of leasehold reform and related economic, sociological and comparative issues.

Suitable Applicants: Preference is likely to be given to law graduates or persons holding a joint degree with law as one element.

**DEPARTMENT OF ELECTRICAL
AND ELECTRONIC ENGINEERING**

Project Area: Microprocessor applications in speech processing.

Aims: To design and develop speech processing units capable of real-time operation which can be readily interfaced with a user mobile radio equipment.

Suitable Applicants: Electrical/Electronic Engineering or Computer Science graduates. However, other graduates with relevant experience in microprocessor applications will be considered.

DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE (Two Posts)

Project Title: Development of partially evacuated solar collectors.

Aims: To investigate the characteristics and benefits of tubular solar collectors, containing particular gases at low pressures.

Suitable Applicants: Graduates (with or without postgraduate experience) in Physics, Chemistry, Material Science or Mechanical Engineering.

Project Title: Anaerobic Digestion.

Aims: To study the chemical parameters, in particular the presence of trace toxic materials such as heavy metals, which may influence the operation of anaerobic digestion.

Suitable Applicants: Good honours degree in Chemistry of Biochemistry, or an allied discipline where there is experience of modern analytical methods.

Tenure: In the first instance, grants are available for two years' duration with the possibility of extension for a third year.

Salary: £4,388 to £5,456.

For further particulars and application forms please contact: Personnel Office, The Polytechnic of Wales, Pont

Research continued

SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY OF RESEARCH ASSOCIATE

Applications are invited for a three year research post, starting October 1981, on a 1985 funded project examining the development of computer-aided relationships.

Applicants should have a recent Ph.D. or equivalent research experience in an appropriate area, experience in observational methodology, and computing skills, would be relevant.

Initial salary up to £6,880 a year on Range 1A with superannuation.

Applicants with curriculum vitae to Dr. P. K. Smith, Department of Psychology, University of Sheffield, R16 2TA by 15 July 1981. Further details available on request. Contact ref. 11022/11. R16

Administration

FURTHER EDUCATION CURRICULUM REVIEW AND DEVELOPMENT UNIT (FEU)

The FEU which was set up in 1977 by the then Secretary of State for Education and Science as an advisory, intelligence and development body for further education, requires from January 1981:

A Development Officer

to assume responsibility for a significant area of the Unit's work.

Applicants should have worked in further education and/or training and must have experience of curriculum development and/or evaluation. Ability to work as an FEU team member, to work with FEU training staff at all levels in a variety of institutions and to write reports is necessary.

Teaching experience in further education essential. The post is London based but considerable travel may be involved.

Salary range: £17,616-£16,016 (including £1,016 p.a. inner London weighting).

The salary scale is currently under review.

The appointment will be for a period of three years with a possible extension of not more than a further two years. Secondment from present post will be acceptable.

Application forms and further information are available from: Director, The FEU, Elzabeth House, 39 York Road, London SE1 7PH (telephone 01-928 9222 ext. 317/2221).

Closing date for receipt of applications, 8 July 1981.

THES ADMIN 11

LONDON UNIVERSITY OF GOLDSMITH COLLEGE

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT (Photographic Services and Publications)

Applications are invited from graduates or suitably experienced persons for the above post in the College's central secretariat. Minimum age 21 years.

The duties will include supervision of the photographic services and editorial assistance in preparation of college publications. Experience of photographic work would be an advantage.

Salary according to qualifications and experience on the scale £4,880-£11,000 (including London weighting).

Write for further details to the Personnel Officer, University of London Goldsmith College, New Cross, London SE14 6NU. Closing date for applications 17th July, 1981. R11

Colleges of Technology

Surrey Education Committee, Guildford County College of Technology

Stoke Park, Guildford, Surrey, GU1 1EZ. (Tel: Guildford 51261)

Head of Department of Social Work Studies (Grade V)

(Appointment to commence in January 1982)

Salary: £13,514-£15,402. Plus £213 Fringe Allowance.

Generous relocation expenses available in approved cases.

Further details and application form from E. L. Ellison, Principal (please enclose)

Closing date for applications 15 July 1981.

Librarians

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE UNIVERSITY OF LIBRARIES

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited for a post of Assistant Librarian in the University Library. The successful applicant will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the library and will be expected to undertake a variety of other library services in the University.

Salary will be at appropriate point according to age, qualifications and experience, on the scale £4,880-£11,000 (including London weighting).

Further particulars may be obtained from the Senior Assistant Librarian, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 100, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 7RU. Write when applications 15 copies (together with the name and address of 3 referees) should be lodged not later than 15th July 1981. Please quote reference THES R14.

DERBYSHIRE MATLOCK COLLEGE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

COLLEGE LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited from graduates or suitably experienced persons for the above post in the College Library. The successful applicant will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the library and will be expected to undertake a variety of other library services in the College.

Salary will be in accordance with the Derbyshire Education Authority scale, £4,880-£11,000 (including London weighting).

Further details and application form from the Principal, Matlock College of Higher Education, 100, Matlock, Derbyshire, DE4 3JL. Write when applications 15 copies (together with the name and address of 3 referees) should be lodged not later than 15th July 1981. Please quote reference THES R14.

REMINDER

COPY FOR ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE TIMES HIGHER EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT

Colleges of Further Education

NEW POST OF TUTOR/ORGANISER IN YOUTH AND COMMUNITY WORK ON DISTANCE LEARNING PROJECT

To share with present Senior Lecturer and Course Committee responsibility for developing and running the Institute Pilot Three Year Part-time Certificate Course in Youth and Community Work to be operated by The YMCA National College in Association with the North East Polytechnic.

This project, funded by the Department of Education and Science, is based upon a 112 job (see London Allowance 2 appropriate).

Location: Course based at YMCA National College, but Tutor/Organiser will work mainly with students in the field, probably north of Birmingham. Main Duties: Writing and production of course material. Individual tutoring and assisting with course administration.

Qualifications: Experience as a practitioner in Youth and Community Work and as a tutor in Youth and Community Work or related fields plus relevant professional and academic qualifications.

Appointment from 1st January, 1982 or earlier if possible. Initially for the duration of the pilot course (4 years approx.). Further particulars and application form from: The Principal, YMCA National College, 642 Fosse Road, London E17 3EF. Closing date for applications Monday 27th July, 1981. THES/

PART-TIME and full-time teachers required shortly in all subjects of the Institute of Bankers, Banking Diploma by private specialist College, 1200 minutes from London.

Please apply with details to The Principal, Bankers' College, 45 Bankside, Kings Head Yard, 45 Bankside, R100 Street, Southwark, London SE1 1NA. Tel: (01) 403 4666.

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FACULTY OF ARTS OPENINGS 1981/1982

An independent Arab University in the Israeli-Occupied West Bank of Jordan has faculty openings for the academic year 1981/1982. In English Department for instruction in TEFL, English is the basic language of instruction and candidates should have an M.A. in TEFL/Applied Linguistics. Starting annual salary for M.A. is 3100 JDs. current exchange rate is about 1 JD = £3.00. Optional summer teaching extra. Fringe benefits include: Relocation Allowance and Transportation. All applications should include resume and be addressed to: Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Birzeit University, P.O. Box 14, Birzeit, West Bank - Via Israel.

THES12

THE UNIVERSITY OF GARYOUNIS, THE SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA, INVITES APPLICANTS TO TEACH FROM THE BEGINNING OF SEPTEMBER 1981 IN THE FOLLOWING FACULTIES:

FACULTY OF EDUCATION (EL BIEDA) IN THE FOLLOWING FIELDS:

1. Teaching English as a second language.
2. Biology.
3. Chemistry.
4. Mathematics.
5. Geography.
6. Educational planning.
7. Sociology.
8. Audio Visual.

General requirements:

1. Applicants should hold a Ph.D. degree or its equivalent from a recognised university.
2. Experience in university teaching preferable.
3. Teaching is in Arabic language except for the Departments of English, Chemistry and Biology.

Applications including resumés should be sent to:

The Secretary of the Popular Committee,
Faculty of Education,
University of Garyounis,
El Bieda,
The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

FACULTY OF ARTS & EDUCATION (BENGHAZI) IN THE FOLLOWING FIELDS:

- Department of Philosophy
1. Comparative Religions.
 2. Philosophy of Ethics.
- Department of Communication
1. Television Production.
 2. Radio Production.
 3. Publication Layout and Design.
 4. Documentation.
- Department of Geography
1. Physical Geography.
 2. Cultural Geography.
 3. Surveying and Maps.
- Department of History & Archeology
1. Ancient Archeology.
 2. Islamic History.
 3. Islamic Archeology.
- Department of Sociology
1. Industrial Sociology.
 2. Sociological Theories.
- Department of French
1. Linguistics - Native Speakers only.
- Department of English
1. Teaching English as a second language.

General requirements:

1. Applicants should hold a Ph.D. degree or its equivalent from a recognised university.
2. Experience in university teaching preferable.
3. Should have mastery of the Arabic language (not required of applicants for the Departments of French or English).

Applications including resumés should be sent to:

The Secretary of the Popular Committee,
Faculty of Arts and Education
University of Garyounis
Benghazi
The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Basic annual salary:	Professor	8640 to 9720 L.D.
	Associate Professor	7560 to 8640 L.D.
	Assistant Professor	6840 to 7560 L.D.
	Lecturer	6240 to 6843 L.D.
	Assistant Lecturer	5265 to 6237 L.D.

One Libyan Dinar (L.D.) is equivalent to approximately £1.50 or US 3.33 Dollars. Housing is provided by the University: additionally a furniture allowance of 2 months basic salary is provided for married accompanied staff: single staff will be accommodated in a furnished flat within the campus.

Research and consultation opportunities are available. Funding individual research projects will be considered. Details furnished upon request. The academic year begins on 1 September 1981. Ranks and salaries commensurate with experience. On termination the staff member will receive a gratuity of two months salary for each completed year of service payable at the end of contract.

Round trip air tickets from the place of recruitment to Benghazi are given to the staff member and family (up to four children under 18 years) at the beginning and end of contract. In addition, a baggage allowance of up to 25% of the price of the air ticket. Leave travel tickets to the place of recruitment for the staff member and his family are given every year. The University provides free medical treatment.

Chairman of the trade unions side of the Universities Committee for Non-teaching Staffs.